



# The Antiquary.

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## "The Tower Guards" (1648). —I.

By J. H. ROUND.

**W**HILE occasionally studying the siege of Colchester in 1648, I have been puzzled by the mention of "the Tower Regiment" as one of those engaged in the Leaguer. I cannot find that it is alluded to by name in Mr. Clement Markham's accounts of the siege,\* but in the other modern account, that of Mr. Fyler Townsend,† it is repeatedly identified with the train-bands (militia) of the Tower Hamlets. Mr. Townsend says of the City train-bands:—

One of these train-bands, known by the name of the 'Tower' or 'Green' Regiment, was present at the siege of Colchester, and bore its full proportion of the burden and protracted labours of that conflict (p. 71).

He also speaks of it as "the train-bands of the Tower" on pp. 10, 29, etc., and as his work is largely based on excellent original research, it seemed probable that for these statements he must have some good authority. The explanation, however, appeared so unsatisfactory that I was led to search for, and eventually to discover, the true origin of this regiment and of its name.

The first germ of a Tower Regiment is probably to be sought in Windebank's announcement (9 Sept. 1640) that Hamilton had urged that thirty horse should be placed as a garrison in the Tower. Instead of this, there was "appointed for the Tower Guards" a colonel's (or double) company of two hundred men, which took up its quarters

\* *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (1870), pp. 309-335; "The Siege of Colchester" (*Arch. Journal*, 1877).

† *The Siege of Colchester* (N.D.). Published by the S.P.C.K.

there on the 24th September.\* But, on the 8th November (1640), Charles promised to remove this garrison on the 11th, which he apparently failed to do; for on the 16th of November the City offered to lend him £25,000 on condition of these troops being removed and the ordnance dismounted.† It must be remembered that the ordnance was, at this period, mounted on the summit of the White Tower, whence it could sweep the City.

This having led to the removal of the troops, a second attempt was made to introduce them in the stirring days of May 1641. It was part of the famous Army Plot, when Strafford's fate was hanging in the balance, that one hundred soldiers should be thrown into the Tower,‡ if the consent of Balfour, the lieutenant, could be obtained, with the double object of releasing Strafford, then a prisoner within its walls, and of making that fortress a standing menace to the City. On the 2nd May Captain Billingsley presented himself at the Tower gates, at the head of one hundred soldiers, but was refused admission by Balfour, the lieutenant.§ The alarm of the city was suddenly intensified by the discovery of the whole plot. "Le dessein," wrote Aerssen, the Dutch ambassador, "semble aller sur la tour." Ranke thus describes the excitement of the citizens:—

The fact that the Tower, which commanded the City, was reckoned on for this purpose caused an indescribable agitation. . . . The King had sanctioned the proposal to strengthen his hold on the Tower with trustworthy troops; the number of men that he desired to introduce was not more than a hundred, but even this now appeared a dangerous innovation. The commandant Balfour hesitated to admit the troops: the tumultuous mob directed against it a more urgent petition than ever. The Lords were induced to make representations on the subject to the King, who justified the arrangement on the score of his duty to provide for the safety of the ammunition

\* *State Papers*. Bayley asserts (*History of the Tower*, p. 97) that the king "placed a garrison of four (*sic*) hundred men in the Tower, and gave the command to Lord Cottingham," who was then constable, with Balfour for his lieutenant. But this estimate appears to be erroneous.

† Gardiner's *Fall of the Monarchy*, vol. ii.

‡ "By whose (Young's) examination, and the Report of the Committee, it appeared, for the further discovery of the plot, that they intended to seize on the Tower" (*Diurnal*, pp. 150, 153).

§ Gardiner, *ut supra*.

stored in the Tower, but, in view of the popular agitation, did not insist on its being carried out.\*

Lord Monmouth writes on the 1st (?) of May to Lord Middlesex of

apprehensions of the Londoners that 100 soldiers were to be put into the Tower to let Strafford escape, or for ruin of the City. The King revoked the commission, and ordered none to be put in but of the nine next hamlets, *as the custom is* ; †

and Arthur Brett writes to him, on the 8th, "The Tower is guarded by the . . . Companies." For, on the 4th, the House of Lords had ordered that five hundred men of the Tower Hamlets trainbands should form the guards for the Tower.‡

Thus was the second attempt to garrison the Tower with regular troops effectually foiled. Its guards were furnished, as before, by the trainbands of the Tower Hamlets, which, it should be observed, were, like those of Southwark and Westminster, distinct, strictly speaking, from those of "the City."§

It was in January 1642 that the third, and equally luckless, attempt was made, a detachment of gunners being introduced into the fortress (3rd January), and the men of the Tower Hamlets disarmed by Byron, the lieutenant. However, the Tower was blockaded by the City trainbands, and Byron was forced to submit.

We may pass over the subsequent changes in the Lieutenancy—with the exception of the vital one in 1643, when, on the retirement of Sir John Conyers, the Houses—

immediately committed that charge, the custody of the Tower of London, to the Lord Mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them, which always justified with their own,||

—and proceed at once to the great crisis of six years later, when the factors in the political problem had begun to change places. So long as the army and the parliament were at one, the cause of the army was that of the Londoners, and the Tower was safe in

\* *History of England*, ii. 265-7.

† Appendix to 4th Report Historical MSS., p. 295 b.

‡ Gardiner, *ut supra*.

§ It may be noticed that Macaulay mentions among the arguments against standing armies, advanced so late as 1697, that "even the Tower ought to have no garrison except the trainbands of the Tower Hamlets."

|| Clarendon's *Rebellion* (1826), iv., 227.

the hands of their train-bands. But when the victory of the parliament and army was followed by the widening breach between them, the City was foremost, as is well known, in opposition to the army's designs. The story of Fairfax's march on London, and of the sudden surrender of the timid citizens, in the summer of 1647, is a familiar one. Immediately upon the general's triumphal entry, he was appointed by the Houses Constable of the Tower (6th August, 1647).\*

On the following Monday (9th August),—

His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax came to take possession of the Tower of London, according to the votes of both Houses on Friday last; he was attended by his Life-guard and a party of Colonel Pride's Regiment of Foot; coming to the Tower, the City-guard that were there marched out, and about three hundred of the General's Foot marched in, when also his Excellency went into the Tower, attended by many commanders and other gentlemen, and took possession of his command there as Constable.†

The corporation, terrified at the prospect of losing their control of the Tower, hastily prepared "a Bason and Ewer of beaten Gold, to the value of a thousand or twelve hundred pounds,"‡ wherewith to propitiate the dreaded general, and meanwhile

desired to recommend to his Excellency the Faithfulness and Care of Colonel West, Lieutenant of the Tower.§

But Fairfax had no intention of taking the hint, and replied in "a loving and modest answer,"—

That for a Lieutenant of the Tower (though he that was now in, was a worthy Person) he had appointed a Gentleman of known Worth and Fidelity, a Citizen of good Estate, dwelling amongst them, *viz.*, Colonel Tichburne, who is by his Excellency made Lieutenant of the Tower.||

The citizens had, in fact, shown their teeth; the next time they might show fight. Fairfax and his army resolved that they could no longer be entrusted with the Tower. Their train-bands had already been turned out, and now their Lieutenant was to follow.

\* Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, Part IV., vol. ii., p. 759.

† *Ibid.*, p. 760.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 764.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 760.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 761. This was the well-known Colonel (Alderman) Tichbourne, who was himself, as a Regicide, committed prisoner to the Tower, with his predecessor Pennington, 25th August, 1660.

Henceforth the fortress was to be held by a garrison of regular troops. But where were they to come from? The general and his staff would naturally be averse to locking up one of the veteran battalions of what was technically known as "the field force" within the walls of the Tower; and by treating it as a "garrison," it would be possible to man it without trenching on "the field force," garrisons, I take it, being, as yet, outside "the establishment." Some infantry was therefore, in my opinion, specially raised for the purpose, to the number, I take it, of six hundred, half the then strength of a regiment of foot.

The transfer of the Tower into the hands of the Regulars is alluded to, this same month, in the mysterious "Articles of Agreement between the King's Majesty and Sir Thomas Fairfax," in which it is provided by the 8th Article,—

"That the several guards, consisting of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, be speedily drawn off from the Tower, etc., etc., . . . and the said places to be again guarded by the citizens of London as formerly."\*

We now pass over eight months, and come to the famous City Riot of 8-9 April, 1648, synchronising with other loyalist outbursts in Norwich and elsewhere. It will be remembered that as yet "the army party," in the enforced absence of "the eleven members," had an actual majority in the House. They hastened, therefore, to curb the City by raising "the regiment in the Tower" from 600 to 1000 men, and by adding thereto a troop of 100 horse.†

But, within a month, the growing strength

\* Bell's *Fairfax Correspondence*, i., 395.

† 13 April, "That the Regiment in the Tower be made up 1000 compleat, and that 100 horse be raised, and quartered in the Tower, for the better security of the City of London" (*Rushworth*, p. 1060). The following day they "ordered that his Excellency the Lord General should be desired to appoint the 400 foot to be joined with those in the Tower to make them up 1000." (It is from this entry that I infer their previous strength to have been 600). "They further ordered that the sum of £1500 should be forthwith prepared for buying Bedding for the 1000 Foot and the Troop of Horse to be quartered in the Tower of London" (*Ibid.*, p. 1061). According to Whitelocke (Ed. 1682), they ordered "twelve hundred (1) horse to be there" (p. 299<sup>b</sup>), a passage which deserves to be compared with Colonel Farre's "ten thousand (!) men of the Essex train-bands" (p. 329<sup>a</sup>), and which well illustrates the danger of an unguarded reliance on his statements.

of the loyalist reaction had emboldened the City to seek from parliament the restoration of its former independence and the undoing of Fairfax's work. The movement began, as usual, with a petition to the Common Council from "divers worthy and well-affected citizens, that the bringing-in of Bullion is much impeded and Merchandizing greatly diverted," because the

Former Favour afforded to the City in the nominating of the Lieutenant of the Tower, hath been of late suspended and many soldiers therein placed, unknown to the City, whereby Trading is much decayed, and poor People, for want of Employment, in extremis Misery, and the City greatly endangered by their important [?] importunate necessities.

I would invite attention to the striking parallel between the position of affairs at this time and in 1641-2. The citizens' jealousy of the "soldiers" in the Tower aptly illustrates how they had come to view the so-called army of "the parliament" with the same feelings as those with which they had once viewed the King.\*

As before, in their alarm, they turned to the Commons. On the 9th May a petition was presented by the Common Council to the House—

That the command of the Tower of London may be put into the hands of such a person as shall be nominated and presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the said City, which will give good satisfaction to the City, and remove many fears and doubts, etc., etc.†

We are told that "the Commons had debate upon this petition," and

Resolved . . . That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common-council Assembled of the City of London, be by Ordinance of Parliament Authorized to Nominate and Present to both Houses for their Approbation . . . an able and sufficient Person for the Command of the Tower of London, That the

\* This is shown not only by the similar feeling of the citizens in the spring of 1641, but also by a comparison between the above Petition and that presented for Byron's dismissal in 1642:—"There was a petition brought and delivered to the Houses in the names of several merchants who used to trade to the Mint; in which they desired that there might be such a person made lieutenant of the Tower 'as they could confide in' (an expression that grew from that time to be much used), without which *no man would venture bullion into the Mint*, and, by consequence, no merchant would bring it into the kingdom" (Clarendon's *Rebellion*, ii. 154).

† *Rushworth*, p. 1107.

soldiers now remaining in the Tower of London shall be removed.\*

The members ("Citizens") for the City were then directed to "prepare and bring in an Ordinance according to these Votes."† This "Ordinance" gave rise to long debates in the Commons on the 13th and 16th, but was finally passed by "both Houses" on the 18th, and

By this Ordinance, Colonel Francis West is appointed to be Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and to have the command thereof, as formerly he had; and that the soldiers of the Tower be forthwith removed thence.‡

But the question as to the release of the Aldermen still imprisoned in the Tower caused a delay in its transfer, and on the 23rd (May) "the House further Ordered, upon the desire of [the Committee for] the Militia of London"

That the Horse and Foot in the Tower should be removed from the Tower and joined with the forces at Whitehall and the Mews, and there to continue, till the City declare they are in a posture to defend the Parliament and themselves.§

Meanwhile Fairfax had repeatedly applied for what may be termed the garrison of Westminster, which he urgently required for his field force. He does not, however, seem to have contemplated withdrawing the garrison in the Tower. The majority in the House had hitherto resisted Fairfax's application, but now stricken with panic at the advance of the Kentish loyalists, they suddenly, by a vote of the 25th (May), placed at the disposal of the executive committee both the forces at Westminster and those in the Tower:—

The House Ordered, "That the Committee of Derby-House should have power to dispose of the Regiment of Foot and Troop of Horse in the Tower, and the Forces at Whitehall and the Mews, for the farther security of the City and Parliament."

"That notice be given to his Excellency, what the grounds and necessities are for the stay of the Forces of the Tower, and disposing all his Forces here for the safeguard of the City of London."||

On this order reaching Derby House, the

\* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*, 1108.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1118. This restoration of the Tower to the citizens, and its re-occupation by the train-bands, is entirely ignored by Bayley in his well-known *History of the Tower* (p. 99), though he describes its transfer in the previous year.

§ *Ibid.*, 1126.

|| *Ibid.*, 1128.

committee sent it on at once to the Common Council, then sitting, where it was welcomed with eager excitement. That same evening, Col. West, accompanied by a committee of the Council, presented himself at the gate of the Tower, to take over the command. But Fairfax's Lieutenant, Col. Tichbourne, politely demurred to this hasty action, especially while the arrears of his troops had not yet been paid. Pecuniary difficulties, however, were not allowed to form an obstacle, and the Common Council were able to report, the same day, to the House that

As to the Forces of the Tower, they had given Orders to the Treasurer for the payment of them.\*

Tichbourne undertook that "both Himself, Officers, and Soldiers were ready next day to march away," and next morning (26th May) the regiment and the troop marched out, at eleven o'clock, and West marched in "with a City Train'd band."†

Thus was Fairfax's work undone by the whirligig of time, and the City, which only nine months before had been prostrate beneath his triumphant soldiery, was now once more exulting in its possession of the dreaded fortress.

I hope, in the second half of this paper, to treat of the doings of "the Tower Regiment" (as the evicted garrison was by this time known), in the summer and autumn campaigns of this eventful year.



## A Few Notes upon the Diary of Nathaniel Hone, R.A., for the Years 1752 and 1753.

**F**IN Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, "private records and evidences" are included under Antiquities, as being "remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time."

\* *Ibid.*, 1128.

† *Perfect Weekly Account* (King's Pamphlets, G. L. 369, No. 18). Cf. *Perfect Diurnal* (No. 251), p. 2024. These transactions are not described by Rushworth.

In the columns of *THE ANTIQUARY*, however, it seems hardly necessary to adduce such weighty authority for any attempt "to save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time," even when, as in this case, the period is a dull one. How dull it was let Horace Walpole testify.

In 1753 "there was," he says, "no war, no politics, no parties, no madness, and no scandal;" if this be true, it will perhaps account for Macaulay's assertion that "the last twenty years of George II.'s reign is a time of which readers of English history know the least;" yet "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and students of our literature, art, and the drama may, perchance, find some interest in the glimpses of men and manners which these diaries afford.

In these days the memory of Culloden was still green, complaints being made to Parliament that seditious songs were sung in the streets. Kilmarnock, and the brave Balmarnino, and the "old fox" Lovat had closed, virtually, the last scene of the Jacobite Rebellion upon the block at Tower Hill.\* Only five years before, Addison and "Dick" Steele had passed away, Defoe's graphic pen was still, Pope and Swift were no more, but there was yet a warm after-glow, so to speak, of the genius of these great writers, and other names, hardly less distinguished, come crowding upon us. David Hume, appointed Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinbro' in 1752, was turning to good account the facilities for study which his new post gave him, and had begun his *History of England*. Dr. Johnson, hard at work upon his Dictionary, was writing in the *Rambler*. Richardson had completed *Clarissa Harlowe*, and in 1753 produced his "ultra-perfect" *Sir Charles Grandison*. Tom Jones, "that exquisite picture of human manners," as Gibbon so justly terms it, had appeared, and Fielding was soon to end his days at Lisbon. The success of *Peregrine Pickle* and *Ferdinand Count Fathom* had decided the literary career of Smollett, who like the last named novelist was also fated to die in a foreign land. Gray's

\* In Dr. Doran's *London in Jacobite Times* there is a graphic account of the fate of the final victim of "'45"—Dr. Archibald Cameron, who was executed at Tyburn in 1753, and who now lies buried beneath the altar of the Savoy Chapel.

*Elegy* had had its last polish put upon it, and disarmed even Johnson's disparaging criticism. Burke was studying at the Bar, and was already a contributor to periodical literature; Goldsmith was studying medicine at Edinburgh, and Sterne was soon to give to the world the imitable *Uncle Toby*. Upon the stage, Garrick,\* then in his prime (he would be thirty-seven) was delighting and astonishing audiences by his powers in the very opposite characters of Macbeth and Abel Drugger. Foote was playing at the "Little Theatre in the Haymarket." Peg Woffington had not yet been stricken with the malady which took her from the boards she loved so well, and was to cause her to end her days alone and friendless at Twickenham, whilst Quin and Mrs. Cibber were both high in popular favour.

In art a few stars shone brightly. Reynolds, just come back from Rome, where he probably left Wilson, was rising rapidly. Hogarth was at his zenith, having already produced his most celebrated satirical pictures. Gainsborough, who had not long married sweet Margaret Burr, was at work at Ipswich, painting Suffolk landscapes. In portraiture, the influence of the "hasty and rapacious Kneller,"† as Macaulay styles him, was still paramount, though he had been dead for five-and-twenty years and more. Mr. Leslie in his *Life and Times of Reynolds* relates how Ellis, a portrait painter eminent at that time, said, "Ah, Reynolds, this will never do; why, you don't paint in the least like Kneller!" and on the innovator, for as such he was regarded, attempting to defend himself, the critic would not stay to hear him, and exclaiming, "Shakespeare in poetry, and Kneller in painting, damme!" walked out of the room.

Reynolds' old master Hudson was the fashionable portrait painter in oils, and Roubiliac the sculptor of the day.

Amongst the "painters in little," then so

\* Garrick was painted by Hone in 1759.

† *Apropos* of Sir Godfrey, the following passage of arms between him and Pope may be new to some readers. The poet, after looking round a gallery of beauties by the painter, exclaimed, "It is a pity, Sir Godfrey, you had not been consulted at the creation." Kneller, throwing his eyes upon Pope's shoulders, replied, "Really I should have made some things better."

much in vogue, Nathaniel Hone, Royal Academician, Member of the Academy of Arts at Florence, and the subject of this paper, became, after the death of Zincke, the enamellist, the most fashionable. The biographical details one is able to glean about him are meagre, and but for the attention which his famous quarrel with Reynolds drew upon him, little, now-a-days, would, perhaps, be known about him; indeed Leslie, as the avowed champion of Sir Joshua, has gone so far as to say that "he (Hone) is now only remembered for the jealous malignity he displayed towards the President." I propose to say more of this incident anon.

Hone was born in 1717, in Dublin, where his father was a merchant. He came when young to England, and married a lady (the "Molly" of the diary) of some property, by whom he had several children. Of these, Horace and Camillus were both painters. The former "practised in water-colours, oils, and enamel, but his miniatures are his best works," says J. C. Smith.\* Horace was elected A.R.A., 1779. Soon after he removed to Dublin, where he met with great success; but after the Union his fashionable sitters fell off, and he returned to London, where he was appointed miniature painter to the Prince of Wales. He died in 1825, aged seventy. His brother Camillus was an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, after which he practised his art in the West Indies; then settled and died in Dublin in 1837. There is a portrait of Miss Hone engraved by J. R. Smith,† which bears the following inscription:—

Her beauty hangs upon the cheek of Night  
Like a rich Jewell in an Ethiop's Ear.

Then there was a Miss Lydia Hone, who was also painted by her father, and Charles Phillips engraved a very fine mezzotint plate of her holding a white rabbit in her arms.

She died of consumption in 1773, when she was only fifteen years of age. Besides Apelles, Samuel, and Sophia, who died young, in the diary we read of other children, for no paterfamilias, I ween, will mistake the meaning of such entries as "paid for James's frock," "Polly went to school," etc. Also we hear of "Miss Floretta," who died of

\* *British Mezzotinto Portraits.*

† After a picture by her father.

measles; and, finally, of a "Miss Melly," who chose All Fools' Day to give occasion for her anxious parent to make the following remark: "Amelia, either by drinking or otherways meddling with a bottle of rum, was within an hair's breadth of eternity." This indiscreet young lady, however, lived to an advanced age, married a Doctor Rigg, and her portrait, holding a cup of Bohea in her hand, was engraved by Greenwood.

But to return to Hone. He seems to have practised in several parts of the country, particularly at York, and then to have settled in London. He was living in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, when the diary was begun; he moved to Frith Street in 1752, still a fashionable quarter. From Smith's *Life of Nollekens* we learn that the middle part of Schomberg House, Pall Mall, was occupied by Hone, "who kept a famous black woman in it as his model." Here too, it is said, the famous Dr. Graham exhibited Emma Lyon, afterwards Lady Hamilton, as the Goddess of Health. Collectors of miniatures will be interested to know that Cosway lived there too. Hone dwelt also in St. Martin's Lane, and died at No. 44, Rathbone Place, in his sixtieth year, and was buried August 23rd, 1784, at Hendon. Besides the two plates engraved by himself, there are several portraits of Hone extant. Two miniatures also by himself were shown at the Loan collection at the South Kensington Museum, in 1865 (where, by the way, some twenty enamels by him were also exhibited). The National Portrait Gallery possesses an oil picture, also from his own brush, of which for the benefit of those who are not familiar with it I may quote a description from Mr. Scharf's admirable catalogue,—

Seen to the waist wearing a rich blue coat and a plain, white-falling shirt-collar showing the neck, he is holding a large portfolio with both hands, his right hand holds a porte crayon. . . . His youthful and close-shaven face, with a double chin, and the dark-grey eyes looking at the spectator. His eyebrows are broad, soft, and brown, and his hair rich yellow-brown, and close cut, but wavy."

Hone also figures in Zoffany's well-known picture of the Academicians now in the royal collection; and finally the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House contains another portrait, full face, in a large black hat.

The mention of the Royal Academy makes it necessary to allude briefly to his relations with that body, as they embrace an episode which is at once the best known, and, it must be added, the least creditable in his career.

It will be remembered that the Society of Artists, which used to exhibit in Spring Gardens, was incorporated by Royal Charter under the name of the Society of Artists of Great Britain. In 1768 a secession took place, from which arose the present Royal Academy. Of this society Hone was one of the foundation members, and seems to have been a pretty constant contributor, e.g., in 1769 Northcote notes that Hone's "Piping Boy" was one of the most attractive pictures in the exhibition; in 1771 we find him sending nine portraits.

In 1775 occurred the painful quarrel in connection with his satire upon Reynolds. Those who are not already familiar with the details of this affair will find them treated at length in Smith's *Nollekens and his Times*, where an amusing account is given of a visit paid by the painter to "Little Nolly," who seems to have vigorously championed Reynolds, adding, "You are always running your rigs against Sir Joshua."

The chief objection, however, was the alleged introduction of Angelica Kauffmann as a nude figure. This imputation Hone indignantly repudiated, and wrote to "Miss Angel," assuring her that nothing was further from his thoughts than to insult "the first of her sex in painting, and amongst the loveliest of women in person."

He made an affidavit to this effect, and afterwards exhibited the obnoxious picture, with some sixty other of his works, in a room nearly opposite New Slaughter's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane.

It is commonly assumed that Hone was moved by jealousy and envy at the success of Reynolds as a portrait painter, and this may well be; but the late Mr. Tom Taylor found at the end of a note-book, kept by Sir Joshua at Florence, "a malicious little sketch of a pair of knock-kneed, splay-footed legs, surmounted by a large sketching-board and a cocked hat, and opposite was written 'Master Hone.'" \* This at any rate suggests

\* Leslie's *Life of Reynolds*.

that there may have been some long-standing ill-feeling, some feud which may have had its origin years before they met as rival candidates for the patronage of the fashionable world of London.

To come now to the diaries, a sight of which I owe to the kindness of a friend; they are two duodecimos bound in brown leather, and consist of MSS. entries made in a minute hand.

The contents may be divided into (a) appointments with sitters; (b) entries relating to his personal doings and expenditure, etc., to which may be added (c) a few extracts from the printed *Historical Register*, which forms a part of the diary for 1753.

The following is a list of the appointments, alphabetically arranged:—

Armstrong, Mrs.	Hamilton, Duchess of.
Bailey, Captain.	Hare, Mrs.
Barnard, Mr.	Horton, Miss.
Beaumont, Mrs.	Jordan, Mr.
Bird, Mr.	Montrath, Earl of.
Biscoe, Mr. and Miss.	McCarty, Mr.
Bond, Mr.	Middlesex, Lord and Lady.
Broadley, Captain.	Miser, ye.
Butler, Miss.	Plymouth, Lord and Lady.
Cotton, Mrs.	Portmore, Lord.
Cox, Dr.	Princess at Kew, ye.
Curzon, Lady Caroline.	Prince, ye late (of Wales).
Davenport, Miss.	Rolles, Mr.
Dopping, Mrs.	Rutland, Duke of.
Durban, Mr.	Salkeild, Mr.
Eyres, Governor.	Shannon, Lady.
Foley, Mr.	Stevens, Captain.
Fortescue, Lord.	Sutherland, Dr.
Frazi, Mrs.	Taylor, Dr.
Gilham, Miss.	Weldon, Captain.
Guernsey, Lady Charlotte.	Wilks, Mr.
Harvie, Mr. and Mrs.	

It is thus clear that Hone had a good share of patronage; for, in addition to these fifty sitters in the years 1752 and 1753, there were probably others, since there are scarcely any entries whatever in the diary after the 3rd of August, 1753, when the painter set out for a month's visit to Paris. Such were the demoralising effects of a visit to the city of pleasure! What a pity he did not record some of his impressions of the Paris of his day.

£10 10s. would seem to be the usual sum charged by Hone for a miniature or enamel. The Duke of Hamilton paid him sixty guineas, doubtless for portraits of his fair young bride, who is probably the best known,

and certainly the most attractive amongst his numerous sitters for these two years.

Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton (and afterwards of Argyll), was the daughter of John Gunning, Esq., of Castle Coote, co. Cork. She became the wife of two and the mother of four dukes.\*

Walpole tells us that the name of this lady, together with that of her sister, Maria, Countess of Coventry,† "was grown so renowned that in Ireland the beggar women bless you with the luck of the Gunnings."

He paints the Duke of Hamilton in unattractive colours, describing him as "the abstract of Scotch pride, hot, debauched, extravagant, and equally damaged in his fortune and his person."

The *furore* excited by the loveliness of these Irish sisters is well known, and may be imagined when we read how the noble mob at a Drawing-room clambered upon chairs and tables to look at them; how their doors were mobbed by crowds eager to see them get into their chairs, and places taken early at the theatres when they were expected; how seven hundred people sat up all night, in and about a Yorkshire inn, to see the Duchess of Hamilton get into her post-chaise in the morning; while a Worcester shoemaker made money by showing the shoe he was making for the Countess of Coventry.

Another aristocratic patron in the above list is Algernon, Earl of Montrath. This peer also seems to have had a remarkable wife,‡ if Horace Walpole is to be trusted, who after saying in one letter (as quoted above), "there is no scandal," writes thus to his friend George Montagu:—

By the way, you know that reverend head of the law (Lord Chancellor Hardwicke) is frequently shut up here (Twickenham) with my Lady Montrath, who is as rich and as tipsy as Cacafogo in the comedy. What a jumble of avarice, lewdness, dignity, and—claret!

\* She married (1st) 1752, James Douglas, 6th Duke of Hamilton, and was mother of James, 7th Duke, and Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton. Married (2nd) 1759, John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll, and was mother of George 6th and John 7th Duke of Argyll; created Baroness Hamilton 1776.

† Married in the same year to Lord Coventry, "a grave young lord of the remains of the patriot breed," she died in 1759, it is said a victim to cosmetics, but more probably to consumption.

‡ Diana Newport, daughter of the Earl of Bradford; she died 1766, aged ninety.

The diaries make frequent mention of purchases of prints at prices which would make collectors nowadays die of envy. They were distinguished by the "collector's mark" of a human eye, according to Mr. Redgrave;\* who also observes that Hone "scraped some good mezzotints from his own pictures," and that "there are a few etchings from his hand."

We get a very good insight into Mr. Hone's personal doings, for he kept a careful cash account, and his diaries show not only how he got his money, but how he spent it. He certainly seems to have enjoyed life, or, at any rate, to have partaken freely of its pleasures (which is *not* perhaps quite the same thing); for instance, one of the first entries I lighted upon was "two ticketts to ye masquerade £3 3s., two masques 10s., chair hire, etc., 3s."

Clearly too his personal appearance was not neglected, as witness an entry of 24s. for "silver lace"; and on January 12th, 31s. 6d. "for a new periuke from Chilton's;" and later, "5s. p<sup>d</sup> ye barber;" and on March 3rd "a bag for my wig" cost 4s. 6d., to say nothing of 2s. 6d. for a pair of black buckles. On this day he was doubtless "drest all in his best," for he kept the king's birthday, spending 7s. 6d. in chair hire† to St. James's, and 15s. "at ye play." These royal birthdays seem to have been rather expensive and frequent too, for on the 27th of November in the same year he keeps the king's birthday again! when he spent 12s. 6d. in chair hire, besides 16s. 6d. for silk stockings, 7s. for a pair of pumps, and 15s. for "a green sword belt."

No doubt the "new periuke" and "the green sword belt" were worn and duly admired when Mr. Hone took part in the gaieties of the town, as he appears often to have done at Sadler's Wells and "at the rural assembly at Ranelagh," when curds and whey, or perhaps milk-punch, cost him 27s. 6d.

On the 1st of May he goes by water to the Tower, where he sees the lions. On the 28th of May he rides to Epsom; on Lord

\* *Dictionary of Artists of English School.*

† From the pocket-book I learn that the number of licensed chairs was 400. They took you a mile for 1s. and a mile and a half for 1s. 6d.

Mayor's Day he goes, also by water, to see the show, and once he visits Mother Midnight's Oratory, where he may have seen the fastidious gentleman from Strawberry Hill, who gives his friend Montagu a long account of what he terms "the lowest buffoonery in the world there is an admired dulcimer, a favourite salt box, and a really curious Jew's harp," and so on, but, adds Walpole, "the entertainment is now grown the fashion."

Vauxhall, however, seems to have been Hone's favourite resort when on pleasure bent. He records frequent visits, spending 16s. in two gallons of shrub on one occasion.

The delights of Vauxhall have been so often told that I must beg the reader's pardon for quoting Walpole's account of one of his visits there with an aristocratic party, including "a pretty Miss Beauclerc, and a very foolish Miss Sparre." They went in—

Their barge with a boat of French horns and little Ashe singing; we paraded some time up the river and at last debarked . . . We picked up Lord Granby very drunk: at last we assembled in our booth . . . Lady Caroline (Petersham) looking gloriously jolly and handsome . . . we minced seven chickens into a china dish, which Lady C— stewed over a lamp with three pats of butter and a flagon of water, stirring and rattling and laughing . . . so that from eleven till half-past one we had the whole concourse round our booth . . . it was three o'clock before we got home.

But besides these jaunts and jollities out of doors, pleasures at home were not wanting, judging by memoranda of friends to dine, and such entries as "lost to Molly at cards £1 1s.," paid Mr. Gillatt for wine £25 odd, "Ye gin bill £1 15s." When it is remembered that one could then get drunk on gin for a penny, this points to a considerable consumption. Mr. Lecky in his valuable *History of the Eighteenth Century* has given some startling statistics relative to the gin-drinking habits of the day; what they led to may be seen in Hogarth's terrible "Gin Lane."

Besides frequent visits to "ye Princess at Kew" (professional these), the diaries record a "trip to Margate" in a hoy, a visit to Paris, and a journey to Ireland. A few notes of the latter may interest travellers in these degenerate days.

He set out for the "distressful country" on Friday the 24th of July, reaching Brickhill by three stages the first day; on the next

night he lay at Dunchurch, on Sunday at the Welsh Harp; on Monday he reached Charnhill, and on Tuesday he arrived in the ancient city of Chester; thus taking five days to perform what we do in as many hours. On the Wednesday he was at Parkgate, and on Sunday he sailed for Dublin, in "ye Racehorse."\*

This said *Racehorse* does not seem to have been very fast, for it took her three days to get to Dublin, where Mr. Hone on landing took lodgings with a Mrs. Summers, in Dames Street, "at a pistole per week."†

The cost of this trip to Ireland is instructive. I find the post-chaise came to £5 5s., the road bills amount to £8 11s. 5d., the carriage of trunk 18s. 6d., the passage-money £2 12s. 6d. (£3 3s. on his return)—altogether, with sundries, an outlay of £17 18s. 10d.; and a pretty penny too, for, as it is needless to observe, a pound went further then than it will now. The expenses on his return were much the same.

I shall conclude with a few jottings taken at random from the *Historical Register* which the pocket books contain; they will, perhaps, serve to throw some light on these same "good old days."

- 1752. March 23.—"Sixteen malefactors executed at Tyburn, four in irons."
- April 1.—"Darby convicted at Kingston of robbing the western mail."
- July 21.—"The Marlow stage fined £20 for travelling on a Sunday."
- February 24.—"Daniel Bull McCarthy died in Ireland; he married his fifth wife at eighty-four, and had twenty children by her."
- March 13.—"Miss Jeffries convicted."‡
- May 6.—"Miss Blandy hanged at Oxford."§
- May 5.—"The New Wells, near London Spaw, preached in by a Methodist clergyman."||

\* By a coincidence the *Historical Register*, to which I have referred, printed on each page, records the fact that Columbus sailed that same date in 1492 to discover America. Query, did Mr. Hone select this as an auspicious day?

† 16s. 6d.—from tables at the end of the diary. Portuguese money seems to have been "current coin" in England at this time.

‡ Murderess of her uncle, who debauched her.

§ Murderess of her father. These two ladies were those referred to by my Lady Glover, whom she said that "since the two Misses were hanged and the two Misses (the Gunnings) were married, there is nothing at all talked of."

|| Wesley and Whitefield were both painted by Hone.

September 14.—“The Gregorian or new stile took place.”

Truly 'twould seem that a “new stile” was wanted in those days, of which the following must be my last illustration.

April 23.—“Several thousand persons at Tring concerned in murdering an old woman for being a witch (1751).”

J. J. FOSTER.



## The Coins of Venice.

BY W. CAREW-HAZLITT.

### PART II.

**D**RIOR to 1156, the old denaro, first without, and then with, the name of the patron saint, had been reinforced by a second coin representing the moiety of it, the *denaro minore* or *piccolo*. This new piece, which some have confounded with the *maruccio* to be presently noticed, was of billon, and weighed from eight to ten grains. On the obverse appears a cross, with the pellets in a double indented circle, and the legend D. MAVR DVX (Domenigo Morosini); the reverse exhibited the bust of St. Mark, with the glory or *nimbus* and s. MARCVS VEN. The immediate predecessor of Morosini, Pietro Polani (1130—48), has been credited by some of the Venetian numismatists with the introduction of a peculiar type of the original *denaro*, with the legend on the obverse DS CONSERVA POLANO MP, and on the other side XPE SALVA VENECIAS. It is a piece which we have not had under our eyes; but the characters are suspiciously unusual, and in one specimen *Polano* is said to read *Romano*.

Where the purchasing power of money is extraordinarily great, the fractional divisions of the coinage seem to be almost infinitesimal. In the reign of Sebastiano Ziani (1173-8), the idea was conceived of striking the *quartarolo* or *denarino*, the fourth part of a *denaro piccolo* and the eighth of the *grande*. This minute piece of base metal weighed five or six grains, and had on the obverse a crosslet in a double circle, with the legend ♂ EB. DVX, and on the reverse a second crosslet in a circle, with ♂. MARCV ♂. There were two

types differing in the points and letters; and Orio Malipiero, Ziani's successor, issued other varieties (1178-92).

But the first clear step of an important character was the conception of the *grossoso* during the administration of Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205). It was of fine silver, weight 44 grains in proof condition, and of Byzantine pattern. It was the prototype of the French *gros* and the English groat. Its value in English computation was about 5*d.* On the obverse were represented the erect figures of the Doge and St. Mark, face to face, the latter with the *nimbus*, and tendering the standard, for which a flag-pole does duty; the legend DVX H. DANDOL. S. M. VENETI. On the reverse the Saviour is seated on a decorated throne with the glory, His right hand extended in the act of benediction, His left holding the Gospels, with IC . XC. This handsome coin was also known as a *matapan*, from the cape of that name; but under what circumstances it was so christened is not positively certain. The *grossoso*, which had a long run, and eventually its divisions in its own metal, has the appearance of having been the earliest distinct aim, on the part of the Mint, at the establishment of a standard. It fluctuated in weight three or four grains under different reigns; but it was far from being so irregular and capricious as the groats of the English Edwards. There was not the same inducement. Besides the *grossoso*, Dandolo deserves the honour of laying the foundation of a copper currency. Somewhere about the close of the twelfth century, the Mint coined the *quattrino*, or fourth of the *grossoso*, the weight 16 grains; the legends, E. DADVL DVX, and cruciformly within a circle the four letters V N C S, for *Venecias*. The government of Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311) ordered a double quattrino of copper, or half-grossoso: but we hear no more of it. Of course, unsuccessful trials were made here as elsewhere, and were not repeated.

The successor of Dandolo, Pietro Ziani, continued during his reign of twenty-four years (1205-29) to strike all the pieces now in circulation; but he added to the wealth of the coinage nothing but a small copper piece called the *maruccio*, of five or six grains, with a cross having triangles in lieu of pellets in the angles, and the legend P.

ZIANI DVX. On the other side occur St. Mark with the glory in a double circlet, and the legend  $\omega$ . MARVC  $\omega$  VE. Giacomo Tiepolo (1229-49) issued the grosso in two states, with and without a mint-mark; and that valuable emblem of distinction here makes its first appearance. It presents itself in the form of a triangle enclosing three pellets under the mantle of the enthroned Christ. Andrea Contarini (1368-81) altered the pattern by placing the figure of the Doge in profile; and his successor made further changes. But in the coronation-oath of Tiepolo, where the rates of postage are prescribed, the *soldo* is quoted as a current piece; it was the moiety of the *grosso*; and as the fourth had been coined before 1205, the most ancient issues may be perhaps presumed to have disappeared. No specimen with the name of Tiepolo has been brought to notice.

Reniero Zeno (1252-68) made an experiment of an entirely novel kind; for, as a companion to the silver *grosso*, he produced one in copper of 40 grains, with the Doge's name and S. M. VENETI on one side, and the usual seated effigy of the Saviour on the other. In the field to the left is a small globe, which may be a mint-mark. Zeno also struck the silver *grosso* in six types, weighing from 38 to 40 grains, and the next Doge coined one of  $40\frac{1}{2}$ . But the copper *grosso* does not seem to have met with favour; though it was larger than the silver piece, and varied in other respects, the similarity of denomination made it in an illiterate age perhaps too open to the ingenuity of the plater; and it was permitted to drop.

Thus, however, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Republic found herself provided with a currency in silver, copper, and billon. It was reserved for Giovanni Dandolo (1280-9) to venture a step further, and to meet the increased demand for money, owing to the development of trade, by striking the famous Ducat. After the removal of the Mint to the Giudecca, which in the Venetian dialect was called *Zecca*, the ducat was better known as the *zecchino*; but we shall presently find that the government of a later day, in addition to the *zecchino* or sequin, put in circulation a gold ducat of a quite different type.

The coin of Dandolo was of fine and pure gold, and weighed 17 carats, or nearly 33 grains. In size it resembled a modern English half-sovereign, but it was not equivalent to more than 9s. 5d. Of money of Venice it represented 20 silver grossi. In its character it displayed no prodigality of invention, following very much the same lines as the *grosso*. On the obverse we see the Doge in costume, kneeling before the patron saint, who delivers to him the banner, with the legend IO. DANDVL and S. M. VENETI. The reverse portrays the Saviour full length, in a stellated oval, with the *nimbus*, His right hand extended as usual, and His left holding the Gospel. The legend is SIT. T. XPE. DAT. Q. TV. REGIS. ISTE. DVCAT.\*

Like the *grosso*, the ducat shewed a tendency to copy the Byzantine style of art, and in fact the moneyer had, doubtless, before him as a model or point of departure the earlier coin. The long familiarity of the Republic with the Greek currency prepared those who presided over such matters to borrow the patterns and ornaments engrafted by that nation on the imperial coinage of Rome. In the figure of the Doge, as he appears in an attitude of genuflexion, the portrait is purely conventional; but it, as well as that of the Redeemer, suffered an essential change in the time of Andrea Dandolo (1342-54), under whom also the Ducal bonnet or berretta first assumed the shape of the corno. The value of the piece was nowhere expressed; the probability is that it was proclaimed, as usual, by cry. But its peculiar freedom from alloy, and the strict maintenance of the standard, procured for this as for all the other sterling money of the republic, in common with that of Florence and Verona, an immense celebrity and circulation throughout the Peninsula and throughout the world. Such a demand necessitated a large annual issue; in or about 1420 it is said to have been a million in ducats alone, of which the greater part w s exported. Vasco da Gama found the ducat current at Calicut. Bruce saw it in Abyssinia. It is still occasionally discovered in Egypt. But the reconversion into bullion and other causes have rendered the whole series of ancient ducats extraordinarily scarce.

\* *Sit Tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis iste  
Ducatus.*

They occur sparingly even in Italy; elsewhere they are seldom seen.

The Gauls and Britons had struck gold coins at a remote epoch, some in grotesque imitation of the Greek staters, others in the later Roman taste. Specimens exist not only of pieces in the same metal issued by the order of the Merovingian dynasty in France, but of a similar type struck in Germany. A small gold coin of this description, with the name of a city on the Rhine on one side, and that of a moneyer on the other, is in the British Museum. The head on the obverse is conventional. In Sicily, the Norman Duke of Apulia, Roger II., introduced about 1150 A.D. a gold coinage, suggested by that of the Arabs; and in the following century the German prince Frederic I. (1220-50) struck the augustale and its half on the model of the Roman imperial *solidi*. We have also the gold florin of Louis IX. (1226-70) and the so-called gold penny of Henry III. of England (1216-72). But it may well be doubted if any of these had much width of circulation, or were in general use; the English one is ordinarily treated as an unpublished essay, and the Venetian ducat of 1284, which a great commercial people would have at once the means of applying to practical purposes, and which had been long a want, may be entitled to rank—after the *fiorino d'oro* of Florence, which claims a priority of about thirty years (1252), and which was equally designed as a practical trading medium—as the oldest gold currency established in mediæval Europe.

With the exception of a double quattrino of copper, or mezzo-grosso, with the name of the Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289—1311), the Mint paused a little after its introduction of the zecchino; nor was it till the administration of Francesco Dandolo (1328-39) that the Venetian moneymen reproduced the old forms in a new combination in the *soldino* of silver, also the moiety of the grosso. On the obverse the Doge with the bonnet on his head, and the standard in hand, encircled by the legend FRA. DAN. DVLO. DVX. On the reverse, St. Mark as usual. A second and distinct type, which was popularly called the *cenoghelo*, represents the Doge kneeling, and on the other side, in lieu of the saint, the

lion rampant holds the flag-pole in his claw: the legend, S. MARCVS VENETI. The numismatists allege that these pieces fluctuated between 22 and 10½ grains; but the truth is that this wide discrepancy has resulted from testing specimens in different states, and the old Venetian money has descended, for the most part, in a condition far from satisfactory. The *soldino* was worth from 16 to 18 *denari piccoli*, or 8 to 9 *denari grandi*; it is almost undoubtedly the piece which we sometimes find described as the older *soldo*; and as mention of it occurs in a State paper of 1229 under the latter appellation, it may be reasonably surmised that, as in a few other cases, the original issues have perished, more especially as the very Doge (Arrigo Dandolo, 1192-1205), who published the *grossos*, also published the *quattrino* or fourth of it. It is perhaps fair to question whether the *soldino* was ever struck otherwise than in silver, although Schweitzer seems to draw a distinction between the original piece and a later one, which he specifies as the *soldino di argento*. The only difference may have been in the smaller proportion of alloy.

Possessing already the double *quattrino* and the *soldino*, the government under Andrea Dandolo (1342-54) thought proper to create a third equivalent for the *mezzogrosso* in a silver coin called the *mezzanino*, weighing 14 grains and a fraction. On the obverse we have the Doge, St. Mark, and the flag-pole; but the reverse shews a slight stroke of originality in the figure of Christ rising from the tomb, with the legend XPS. RES VRESIT. The mint-mark in one example is a sword. But the same Doge sanctioned several varieties of the *mezzanino* after its original issue in 1346, with distinguishing mint-marks, and in 1354 the coin of the Doge Francesco Dandolo was reproduced with technical alterations under the name of the *soldino nuovo*.

The copper *grossos* had been a failure, and did not remain in circulation; its place was successively supplied by the double *quattrino*, the *soldino* or *soldo*, and the *mezzanino*; the first in copper, the two latter in the same metal as the *grossos* itself. But Andrea Dandolo seems to have approved of a second trial piece in the shape of a ducat in copper of 30 grains. The

experiment was perhaps not carried out, and the specimen which exists is presumed to have been one of the patterns submitted to the government.

The business of the Mint at the end of the fourteenth century began to grow heavy and responsible. Even when no new dies were in preparation, the ordinary issues of coins in standard use from year to year were sufficient to keep a large staff in employment, more particularly at a period when the various processes were not very expeditious. It is said that in 1423 the yearly coinage, independently of a million gold ducats, extended to 800,000 pieces,—a total of nearly two millions. When, therefore, we have to traverse six reigns (1354-83) without meeting with anything fresh to report, one is not to conclude that the moneyers were idle. The Doge Celsi, who sat on the throne from 1361 to 1365, although he apparently added nothing to the numismatic series, often gave a morning to the Mint, where he, no doubt, invariably found a scene of interesting activity.

A copper piece, called the grossetto, and resembling the grosso in character and design, but having on the reverse the legend *TIBI LAVS & GLORIA*, made its first appearance under the Doge Veniero (1383-1400); and at a later period we find the half-grossetto (1523-38). The grossetto weighed nine carats. A triple grossetto, which is said to exist, is supposed to be an essay; but such an inference seems to have no better foundation than its alleged uniqueness. The successor of Veniero, Michele Steno (1400-13), introduced the bagattino and the half of it, both of base metal, with a small head of St. Mark, as a sort of substitute for the old denaro grande and piccolo. The Doge Foscari (1423-54) altered the type by putting the lion rampant in the place of the evangelist, and Nicolo Trono (1471-7) had the double bagattino. No bagattini of Michele Steno or Francesco Foscari are described, but we have the halves of both reigns. The earliest bagattino at present recovered bears the name of Pasquale Malipiero (1457-62). Here is another instance in which a denomination carries a constructive proof of being anterior to any producible specimen.

The inconvenience of possessing no currency intermediate between the grosso, worth a few pence, and the ducat must, at the same time, have soon been felt; and we shortly arrive at the fact that Francesco Foscari (1423-57) struck two types of a silver coin equal to eight grossi (about 2s. 8d. of English money), styled a *grossone*. On the obverse the Doge stands with the national banner in his hand, the legend, *FRANCISCVS FOSCARIS DVX*. The reverse has a full-faced bust of the Evangelist, and *SANCTVS MARCVS VENETI*. In the second variety the Doge kneels. It is a justifiable speculation whether the *grossone* was of somewhat earlier origin than the reign of Foscari, and whether it may not have been the coin intended by his predecessor, the Doge Mocenigo, where the latter speaks of the annual issue in his time of 200,000 *silver ducats*. For, although the grossone and the silver ducat are perfectly distinct, and the latter was not introduced till 1559-67, the grossone so far surpassed in size any silver piece yet minted, that it might have popularly passed at first as a representative of the old gold ducat in the less precious metal. The more probable view, however, is that the passage where Mocenigo speaks of the silver ducat under 1423 has been interpolated.

The numismatic annals of Venice resemble a stream which, in its earlier course sluggish and narrow, expands into a swift and broad torrent. We are arriving at a time when an extraordinary development took place in the currency of the Republic, and the Venetian coinage was, within a short period, to manifest a variety and profusion strangely contrasting with the indigence of former days and with the advised simplicity of modern monetary economy. But in the absence of paper, and with the constant demand for heavy amounts in specie to pay troops and meet the unceasing expenses of the Arsenal, the parallel employment of several coins of large and nearly identical denominations becomes tolerably intelligible, and where the value was expressed on the face of the piece, as in a few exceptional cases, not particularly inconvenient at the time. For us, however, the Venetian coinage, as we gradually advance beyond the middle ages, and approach the sixteenth century, becomes

rather complicated and perplexing. It will, on the whole, be better to content ourselves with a general survey of the subject, and to refer to Schweitzer and the other monographers those who desire to follow all the technical minutiae.

(*To be continued.*)



### Discovery of Ancient Charters relative to Winchester.

By W. H. JACOB.

**A**MOST interesting discovery of ancient charters, extending over a period ranging from Henry I. to Queen Mary I., has just been made at the above famous old city. The worthy mayor, Mr. T. Stopher, is making an effort to celebrate the seven hundredth anniversary of the mayoralty, said to have been conferred by Henry II. in 1184, by paying attention to the city records; and in the enquiries he has made as to old grants of lease of the city mill, etc., application was made to Mr. F. Bowker, an old and highly respected solicitor of Winchester, for information. He went to look at some old documents formerly in the office of his uncle, Mr. James Lampard, a former joint town clerk with Mr. Godwin, and amongst the ancient and dusty papers was found a box of the existence of which Mr. Bowker was quite unaware. In the box were the ancient charters of the city, in good preservation, with the seals attached; and the series thus hidden away and strangely preserved, make up a complete list of charters from Henry I. to Queen Elizabeth, from which reign those in the corporation's care commence. The documents have been run through temporarily by Mr. Kirby, the Bursar of St. Mary's College, who is a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and they may be summarised thus in order of time, and as to their contents.

1. Charter of Henry I., granting to the Guild of Merchants freedom from toll and customs. No date.

2. Charter of same monarch granting to the citizens for faithful service the right to have a mint and exchange for ever. With a

site for a mill at Coytbury. Dated, Westminster 1111.

3. Charter of Henry II. confirming above. No date.

4. Charter of Richard I. confirming above, 1190.

5. Charter of Henry III. confirming above, 1227.

6. Charter of Edward I. confirming first charter of Henry I., 1293. Charter of Edward I. confirming second charter of Henry I. Same date.

7. Charter of Edward II. confirming the above, 1308.

8. Charter of Edward II. confirming above, and granting to the citizens to hold the city in Fee Farm for rent of one hundred marks, payable to Queen Isabel for her life and then to the king and his successors. No date.

9. Charter of Edward III. confirming charter of Edward II., 1343.

10. Charter of Richard II. confirming above, 1377.

11. Charter of Henry IV., 1403.

12. Charter of Henry VI., 1439.

13. Charter of Edward IV., 1462.

14. Charter of Henry VIII., 1515.

Besides these there are, *inter alia*, a license from Henry VIII., 1517, permitting the mayor on election to qualify before his predecessor, the recorder, and aldermen, instead of going before the barons of the exchequer as formerly, and as the Lord Mayor of London does now.

There is a contract, 1267, between the prior and convent of St. Swithin and Simon the mayor, as to the repair of South Gate, King's Gate, and the drawbridge before the former. A license to John Devenish, one of the founders of St. John's Hospital, to assign one hundred shillings rent in Winchester and Little Somborne to the master and brethren of the Hospital, to provide a chaplain to sing praises in their chapel for ever, for the souls of the king and his predecessor; date 5th of Edward I., 1277. There is an indenture between Joan, Queen of England, and John Viel, mayor, whereby he and his fellows bound themselves to pay forty marks yearly to the queen for certain privileges; dated 1428. There is also a confirmate grant of the privilege of a yearly fair on the vigil of St. Swithin, 1429; a grant of the right of

ulnage or regulating the measure of cloth, 1440; a further grant, 1461, of forty marks out of the issues and profits of the same ulnage. There is a confirmation of this in Henry VII.'s reign, 1505. A grant of two fairs yearly to John Billingham, mayor, 1519; and finally a grant, by Mary and Philip of Spain, of certain rents of tenements in the city and liberty of the Soke, 1553-4.



## The House of Lords.

BY JAMES GAIRDNER.

### PART II.—ITS FUNCTIONS (*continued*).

**W**E have now seen that down to the days of the Tudors the House of Lords was a supreme legislative and judicial council. What changes have come over it since that period, and how far these changes have affected its essential character, we have now to consider.

And first, as to its legislative functions. It is unnecessary to say that the House of Lords is to this day a legislative assembly. That it is, in the same sense as formerly, a supreme legislative body, is perhaps not so apparent. Most people talk of the two Houses of Parliament as having co-ordinate powers in this respect; and of course the House of Commons holds the higher place in popular estimation. The House of Peers is continually spoken of as a "second chamber"—an expression which, if it does not imply total ignorance of the history of the Constitution, can only mean that its proceedings excite less interest, as being of less practical importance in connection with the government of the country, than those of the House of Commons; and it is even questioned by some whether a "second chamber" be really necessary.

How is it that the House of Commons, which three or four centuries ago had absolutely no will of its own, and was totally subservient, in all but money matters, either to the Lords or to the Crown, is to-day so powerful as to be thought omnipotent? And is it really so or not? Let us see.

The House of Commons is indeed historically one of the weak things of the world

that have confounded the strong. Nothing is more extraordinary than the way in which, from its abject condition under the Plantagenets, it has gradually worked onwards to higher and almost supreme significance as an element of the Constitution.

It is the influence, rather than the authority of the House of Lords that has suffered diminution in recent times. And as the only cause of this diminished influence has been the increased importance of the House of Commons, it follows, as a natural consequence, that any causes which may tend hereafter to lower the House of Commons in the public estimation, will, in all probability, do much to restore public interest in the Lords. But it is for us to deal with the past, not with the future, and to trace in a few words the rise of that great power which for the present seems to overshadow the ancient dignity and credit of the Upper House.

The House of Commons did not owe its rise in the first instance to its own native strength. It was originally not a legislative body at all, but an engine of taxation. It had, however, the important power of petitioning the Crown; and this developed into the power of draughting Acts of Parliament. From the twofold fact of its having this power of petition, and of its getting more and more of the power of the purse-strings into its hands, the House of Commons gradually rose to a position of influence and authority, which even the best antiquaries of the seventeenth century untruly believed it to have possessed from a very remote antiquity. Yet, even in those days, its exclusive control over the purse-strings was by no means established; for it was only in the latter part of that century (1678) that the House of Commons for the first time refused to allow the peers the power of amending bills of supply. And everyone knows that before that date the House of Commons had withstood the king himself, even by force of arms, and that the existence of the House of Lords had been for several years suspended.

In truth, the rise of the House of Commons was mainly due to that very race of sovereigns who, of all the sovereigns in English history, were least favourable to the liberty of the

subject. Not that it was by any means the intention of the Tudors to make such a body paramount in the State. On the contrary, it was because they had no fear of the Commons that the Tudor kings thought they could use them safely as a counterpoise to the nobility, whom it was their constant object to depress. It was just because the Tudors were anxious to rid themselves of the old constitutional control of the lords of the land in council,—just because they wished to choose their own ministers and be independent of the claims of the peerage, that they encouraged the House of Commons to be bold in petitioning them whenever they had a mind to do something that neither the Lords nor, indeed, the free voice of the nation would have counselled. Did Henry VIII. wish to cripple the power of the clergy, to ratify his marriage with Anne Boleyn, to throw off the authority of Rome? A word passed to the House of Commons, and they would petition for these things.\* The drafts of the very bills drawn up exist to this day in the handwriting of Henry's ministers; and so far from representing the wishes of his faithful Commons outside parliament, we have the very strongest evidence that the things done were often to the last degree unpopular. But the House of Commons was called together by the king's writ, and only when the king pleased; the local authorities were frequently directed whom they were to return as members; and the House was consequently made up, to a large extent, of the king's own servants.

It was under the Tudors, in short, that the old constitutional control of "the Lords of the Council" broke down. The peerage was too weak, under their successors, to recover its lost authority; and a new mode of government had been initiated which, though hitherto used to serve the purposes of despotism, had always affected to be founded upon the will of the people.

That new mode of government was in its essential features the mode of government which has subsisted to the present time. Before the days of the Tudors the only real limitation of the power of the Crown was in

\* See on this subject some remarks of mine in *Calendar of Henry VIII.*, vol. v., pref., p. 19; vi. pp. 7, 17; vii. 6-8, with the references to authorities cited in these places.

the power of the Lords; and greatly did they resent any attempt of the sovereign to emancipate himself from their control, either by selecting favourites of unaristocratic birth, or by lending himself exclusively to one particular faction, and shutting out from his counsels others who, by the rights of their peerage, were entitled to an equal hearing. Greatly did they resent it even in the days of Henry VIII., when such a master spirit as Wolsey, or such a convenient tool as Thomas Cromwell, reigned solely by the king's authority and the king's clear-sighted wisdom in discerning the sort of man who could best serve his purposes for the time. But the days for effectual remonstrance were gone by; the king's little finger was stronger than the loins of the whole nobility, and however meanly they might and did exult at the first evidence of a great minister's disgrace, they durst not so much as wag a finger at him while he retained the king's favour.

From the Tudors to the present day is a very great step; and no one can look back without thankfulness that our times are not as theirs. Yet as the same essential arrangement of parts and functions exists in very different animals, it may be said that the Tudor system of government exists at the present day. The power of the Crown is really quite as unlimited, except by its greater dependence on the House of Commons for supplies. But the power of the Crown is wielded now by cabinet ministers who occupy precisely the same position as king's favourites did of old. They practically, so long as they remain in power, cut off the Lords and other members of the Queen's great council from access to her presence. Without the support of the House of Commons, it is true, they cannot retain office; but they are called to office by the Queen, and they resign it into the Queen's hands. It is the constitutional power of the sovereign alone by which they stand; and it is by the support that the sovereign power receives from the House of Commons that they are enabled to discharge their duties satisfactorily. On the other hand, that House, knowing its existence to be at all times precarious and liable to be terminated in a moment any day by the decision of a cabinet council, is commonly anxious to keep well with the existing

government. In short, the cabinet has the command of the House of Commons in our day quite as much as the House of Commons has the command of the cabinet.

But the House of Commons is strong only by its control over the executive, that is to say, over those who really, for the time, exercise the functions of royalty. Whenever the House of Commons seeks to abuse its power it is to the Crown that we look, in the first instance, for redress; and the Crown must rely in such cases either on the existing ministry or on the House of Peers. Every one knows that the existing ministry, wielding the powers of the Crown, may meet an adverse vote in the House of Commons by dissolving parliament and appealing to the constituencies to return a new House more favourable to its policy. By this means, when successful in its appeal, the executive obtains a proof of the country's confidence; whereas, if the result be unfavourable, the ministry must resign and the Crown seek other advisers. But the case might be, though it is much more rare (and, indeed, no one would desire it to be frequent), that the sovereign, distrusting his ministers, should fall back upon the advice of his Lords, appealing, in fact, from that section of the Privy Council called the Cabinet to the old great council of the realm. And that this is by no means an imaginary power derived from obsolete traditions of the Constitution, is evident from the fact that it was really exercised no further back than the reign of George III., in a very memorable case of which the particulars are as follows:—

Fox had carried his celebrated India Bill through the House of Commons by a majority of more than two to one. The measure, nevertheless, was strongly denounced throughout the country as a sweeping invasion of chartered rights, and a piece of unblushing jobbery. The state of parties had favoured an attempt which could hardly have succeeded otherwise. It was a Coalition Ministry. By the skill and tact of its author and of his colleague, Lord North, the Bill passed triumphantly through the Lower House, and sanguine hopes were entertained that no effectual resistance could be offered to it in the Upper. But four days before the date fixed for the second

reading in the Lords, Earl Temple, by the right which every peer and privy-councillor possesses of tendering personal advice to the sovereign, obtained an interview with His Majesty, in which he not only elicited the king's opinion that the Bill was unconstitutional and an invasion of the prerogative, but was furnished with authority in writing to intimate privately to such peers as he should think fit the strong aversion with which it was regarded by the sovereign. When this became known, the fate of the Bill was decided. It was thrown out by a majority of ninety-five to seventy-six. The king then dismissed his ministers, and made young Pitt, at the age of twenty-four, the head of a new administration.\*

Many have been the criticisms passed on George III. for thus caballing against his own ministers; and no one will say that it is a course to be commended in the abstract. As a matter of policy, it can only be vindicated with reference to the special circumstances of the case. But it should be observed that it was not in the least degree unconstitutional. No act is unconstitutional the validity of which in itself remains unquestioned. The government of Oliver Cromwell was unconstitutional because it was an interruption of all the traditions of government in this country; and after an interval the nation reverted to the old monarchical principle. The principles of Cromwell's government were then repudiated. Not a single enactment of Cromwell's parliaments would have remained theoretically valid, had not a special Act been passed under Charles II. to give these illegal enactments the force of law,—a proof that, however wise and good those laws were in themselves, they did not rest upon such authority as the nation could permanently recognise. But the act of King George III. in caballing against his ministers was an act entirely within the competence of the Crown. It was never censured by parliament, or apologised for by the king himself, or condemned by any succeeding government in any subsequent reign. And for a very good reason. The cabinet itself, from a constitutional point of view, is nothing but a cabal; the sovereign has a constitutional right to call upon any advisers he pleases,—a right which is only

\* Jesse's *George III.*, vol. ii., 442-6.

controlled by considerations of policy,—and what passes between him and his ministers can never form the subject of legitimate inquiry.

This notable case, then, illustrates two important points in connection with the functions of the peerage; first, the right which every individual peer possesses of tendering his own personal advice to the sovereign; and secondly, the power possessed by the House of Lords, as a body, to protect, in certain cases, both the sovereign and the nation against the ascendancy of a particular party or combination which does not really possess the nation's confidence.

The judicial functions of the House of Lords still remain to be considered; but these need not detain us long. It has been remarked that their legislative functions really sprang out of judicial functions in the first instance. The king was the fountain of justice, and the lords or witan were his council, whether in the decision of important cases or in the laying down of principles to determine cases. Nor can these two functions be entirely disjoined, though of late years the essential connection between them was in a most extraordinary way overlooked by parliament itself. That an Act should have been positively passed in our day, and received the Royal assent, for the abolition of the jurisdiction of the House of Lords as a Supreme Court of Appeal, must surely be a subject of wonder to the philosophic mind in all time coming. Fortunately the Act was materially altered in this point by another Act before it became law, else it would have been difficult to say what would have been the practical result. That *supreme* functions, either legislative or judicial, must in effect be both, is a proposition that should be obvious; for if the power of interpreting laws in the last instance be not reserved to the body which makes the laws, then it can only be that there is no real power of legislation in the legislature. The judges will then be the real makers of the law, inasmuch as they alone determine its practical effect and application. Nor is the phrase "judge-made law" unknown to us at present; but if law is henceforth to be so entirely technical a thing that they who make it cannot see how it will work or do anything to enforce their own view of

it in practice, then indeed the House of Lords might, for legislative purposes, just as well be abolished—and the House of Commons too.

The acute lawyers of the fifteenth century saw this clearly when in Thorpe's case the judges refrained from advising the Lords whether to exercise their jurisdiction by setting aside the decision of a court of law for the sake of parliamentary privilege, "because this High Court of Parliament is so high and mighty in his nature that it may make law, and that that is law it may make no law." It is, in fact, as a sort of a tribunal that the House of Lords acts, even in cases of legislation, when Bills are sent up to it from the Commons. The House of Lords, which is the real "High Court of Parliament" (for the House of Commons has no judicial functions at all), sits in judgment on the petitions sent up to it in the shape of Bills, and pronounces its decrees thereupon whether the petitions should be granted or dismissed.

This point will be seen more clearly in those cases with which we are happily unfamiliar nowadays, when ministers of the Crown or others were impeached by the Lower House. An Act of Attainder was (or I might say is, for the thing is still theoretically within the power of parliament) not an ordinary judgment of law, but a statute quite as much as any other Act. It was an Act that superseded the necessity of trial by an ordinary court of justice, the crime alleged being one which there was either no positive enactment to meet or no strictly legal evidence to prove; but being considered a thing dangerous to the public weal, the accused was put upon his trial before the highest court in the realm. In such cases the Commons appear before the Lords as parties to the prosecution; "while the Lords," to use the words of Sir Erskine May, "exercising at once the functions of a high court of justice and of a jury, try and adjudicate upon the charge preferred."\*

That the Commons may thus appear before the Lords as prosecutors, or as parties to a suit, is in itself the most significant evidence of the relative position of the two bodies to each other in the Constitution. The House of Commons is not above the law, and there-

\* May's *Law of Parliament* (9th Ed.), 57.

fore cannot be the real fountain from which all law proceeds. So little is it above the law, that even the present House has been warned by our present Prime Minister, in reference to one notorious case, that a resolution of the House of Commons might conceivably be pronounced illegal by an ordinary court of justice; and the same doctrine was expressly affirmed only the other day by the Lord Chief Justice. In fact, it seems quite within the limits of possibility that in the present day we may witness the same result as the case of Thorpe in the fifteenth century—that the extent of the privileges of the House of Commons shall be referred to the decision of the House of Peers.



## The Adelphi and its Site.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

### I.

**H**E Adelphi as we now see it has only a history of about one hundred years, but if we trace back the various associations of the site, we find that we have a history of more than five centuries to deal with.\*

Our great London authority Stow tells us that Durham House (which occupied the whole site of the Adelphi) was built by Thomas Hatfield, who was made Bishop of Durham in 1345; but Pennant affirms that he only rebuilt it, and that it was really founded by Anthony de Beck, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Bishop of Durham, in the reign of Edward I. I should prefer to believe Pennant, for this reason: that then we could add the name of Richard Aungerville de Bury, Hatfield's immediate predecessor in the See, to the list of famous residents of Durham House. The distinguished Richard de Bury, beloved by all bookmen as the author of the famous *Philobiblon*, would make up for many dull men, and shed bright rays on the place where he lived. I fear,

\* The substance of this article was read as a paper before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, in the rooms of the Society of Arts, on Monday, April 17th, 1882.

however, that Pennant's authority is of small value. Hutchinson, however, in his *History of Durham*, makes the same claim for Beck.

Norden says, in his *Description of Middlesex*, that Durham House was built by Antony de Beck, but he seems to have had a very hazy notion of when the said Beck lived, for in his printed edition he makes it Richard III.'s reign, and in the Harleian MS. copy he shifts the reign to Henry III., only a difference of more than two centuries.

The Rev. W. G. Humphrey, B.D., vicar of St. Martin's, in his little book entitled *St. Martin in the Fields in the Olden Time* (Edward Stanford, 1876), dates the house still further back, but he gives no authority for the following statement:—It was at Durham House that King Henry III. in 1258 took refuge from a thunder storm, as he was passing down the river in his barge. The house was at that time occupied by the Earl of Leicester, who was head of the Barons opposed to the king; when, however, the Royal barge approached the house, he went out courteously to welcome the king, and endeavoured to dispel his fears, saying, "Your Majesty need not be afraid, for the tempest is nearly over." At these words the king's countenance put on a severe expression, and he exclaimed passionately, "Above measure I dread thunder and lightning, but by the hand of God I am more in terror of thee than of all the thunder and lightning in the world."

Certainly we find that the Friars of the Order of St. Mary de Areno established a house in the reign of Henry III., which is described as not far from the site of Durham House.

Before confining ourselves to the exact site, it may be useful to note what was the general appearance at this early period of the road in which Durham House was placed, and we must begin at Temple Bar. First of all it is necessary to divest ourselves entirely of the idea of the Strand as a street of houses. The palaces now to be catalogued were not so much built in the Strand as on the Thames. Fleet Street at this time and for long afterwards was described as in the suburbs. It was outside of the business of the city, and became the place for sights and shows. The Strand was of course originally

washed by the waves of the river, and in the thirteenth century, although houses had been built there, the road itself which connected London with Westminster was a neglected track. The river was then the highway, and the residents had their barges. When the order of Knights Templars was suppressed in 1313, Edward II. gave their house to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, at whose death the property came into the possession of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Inner and Middle Temples were then leased to the students of the Common Law, and the Outer Temple, or that part which was outside Temple Bar, to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter and Lord Treasurer, who was beheaded by the citizens in 1326. This latter portion became known as Exeter Inn, and the term Outer Temple was forgotten, by which means the names of the other two Temples lost their significance.\* Subsequently Lord Paget obtained possession of the house, to be succeeded by Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose name remains in Essex Street.

Milford Lane marked the confines of the Temple, and it has been suggested that the overflowings of St. Clement's Well ran down here and worked a water mill at the bottom on the Thames bank. Then came the inn of the Bishop of Bath, which was afterwards Arundel House. Strand Lane divided Bath inn from the Bishop of Chester's inn (previously the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry's); then came the Bishop of Worcester's house. These two houses went to form Somerset House.

The Savoy was built in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, uncle to Edward III.'s Queen, Eleanor, and was the only exception to the rule that these Strand palaces were built by bishops. Next to the Savoy, which was very extensive, stood the palace of the Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards Worcester House, the residence of the Marquis of Worcester, whose son was created Duke of Beaufort, and Beaufort Buildings now marks the site. The gardens of Carlisle House extended to Ivy Bridge, and on the western portion of the site Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, built Salisbury House. Ivy Lane was the

\* The name has now been revived for the handsome new building lately erected opposite the Law Courts.

eastern boundary of Durham House, and marks the limit of St. Martin's parish. From Ivy Bridge to near Temple Bar was in the liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the western side of Durham House was the inn of the Bishop of Norwich, which was obtained by Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor in Queen Mary's reign, from which time it was called York House. The curious fact that these houses, which must have made the river front of London singularly handsome, were built by bishops is usually accounted for on the supposition that it was only churchmen who dared in those unruly times to live so far from the city walls. I think, however, there may have been another reason. These bishops came to town to attend the court, and many of them were high officials, whose duties would as often take them to Westminster as to the City, and a position therefore midway between the two places would be particularly convenient. Moreover, the Bishop of London was chief in his own city, and the other prelates would probably be glad to be in a more independent position than would have been the case within the walls.

We can now return to Bishop Hatfield, the supposed founder of Durham House. Besides holding the important and princely see of Durham, he occupied the post of principal secretary of state to Edward III. and Richard II., so that we may well imagine how much business of importance was transacted here. Hatfield was succeeded by many doubtless worthy men, but the names of most of them are not renowned, and they do not confer any particular distinction upon the house they inhabited. In 1406, however, Thomas Langley, a lord chancellor, and moreover a cardinal, was made bishop, and during his residence an event of interest occurred. We learn from an old Chronicle of London that on a certain day in the year 1411, Prince Harry (afterwards Henry V.) came to town and lodged at the bishop's inn for a few days.\* We do not know what he did there, or whether Falstaff and his crew came with him and scandalized the churchman with their wild doings, but it is something to associate so famous a prince with this locality. Again history is silent for upwards of a century, and

\* *Chronicle of London*, ed. Nicholas, p. 94.

we pass over the years that separate the bishopric of Langley from that of Tunstal. Henry VIII. induced, or rather ordered, Tunstal to give up Durham House in exchange for some other property in London, as Coldharbour, etc. It then became for some years dissociated from the see of Durham, and was considered as a royal house.\* In 1540 there were grand doings here. A magnificent tournament was opened on May day in the tilt yard of St. James's Park, and continued for six days. The jousts had been formally proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain for all comers who would undertake the challengers of England. After the occupation of each day the challengers rode to Durham Place and kept open house there. On May day they entertained Henry and Anne of Cleves and all the court, and on subsequent days they feasted other great persons. Stow gives a long account of these jousts, and he was evidently

of opinion that these feastings were the most interesting incidents he could tell of Durham House. I will just quote the last portion of the worthy topographer's description :—

In this time of their housekeeping they had not only feasted the king, queen, ladies, and all the court as is aforesawed ; but, also, they cheered all the knights and burgesses of the common house in parliament, and entertained the mayor of London with the aldermen and their wives at a dinner, etc. The king gave to every of the said challengers and their heirs for ever, in reward of their valiant activity, one hundred marks and a house to dwell in, of yearly revenue, out of the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

\* A MS. in the Guildhall Library (No. 231) contains some notices of the house during the reign of Henry VIII., and references to "stufle delyvered oute at Durham Place," furniture transferred from York Place to Durham Place, etc.

The view annexed (fig. 1) is taken from the long plan of A. van Wyngaerde. This is taken from the original drawing in the Bodleian Library. Certain names have been added in a later hand, but Durham House is incorrectly written over Burghley or Exeter House. Durham House is on the river-side to the east of Charing Cross.

The various occupiers of Durham Place were constantly changed. I find by the *Calendars of State Papers* that in 1547 Sir Francis Knollys was here ; but in 1550 the French Ambassador Chastillon had taken his place, and the house was then "furnished with hangings of the king's for the nonce." It is said that Edward VI., in the second year

of his reign, granted Durham Place to his sister Elizabeth for life, but I have not come upon any record of her having lived here. This would be in 1548, so that it is just possible she was a resident between the occupations of Knollys

and Chastillon. But again my dates are somewhat confused, for I find that the Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour established a mint here under the management of Sir William Sharrington, and he was beheaded in 1548. Altogether Durham House seems to have had more than its fair share of residents during the short reign of Edward VI. Of this, however, there can be no doubt, that at the death of the king, Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, was living here. In May 1553 three marriages were solemnized with great magnificence in Durham House. These were Lord Guildford Dudley, the earl's son, to Lady Jane Grey ; Lord Herbert to Catherine, youngest sister of Lady Jane ; and Lord Hastings to the earl's youngest daughter,

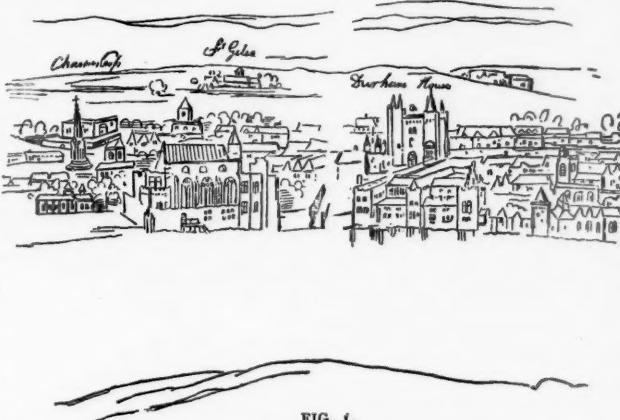


FIG. 1.  
VIEW OF DURHAM HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS FROM THE RIVER.

Lady Catherine Dudley. This association with the interesting Lady Jane Gray is a glorious one for our house. From here she reluctantly took boat for the Tower to be made queen, and from here again a few months afterwards she was hurried off to the same place to lose her life upon the scaffold.

When Mary came to the throne she gave the bishopric of Durham back to Tunstal, who had been deprived by Edward VI. in the year before. He did not, however, get his palace back at once. Among the State papers is a letter from the bishop to Cardinal Pole, dated August 16th, 1558, in which he thanks for the reversion of Durham Place, which had been granted to him.\* When Elizabeth came to the throne, Tunstal was again deprived and driven from this house. In December 1572, Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, was here; and about 1583 Elizabeth granted the house to its greatest tenant, the glorious Raleigh. He was then but thirty-one years of age, and had not long before attracted the attention of the queen.

Here he lived in state for about twenty years, and even if the house were given to him he must have spent a large income in keeping it up. As Lord Warden of the Stannaries, cases were brought before him, and we have note of one of these (*Glanville v. Courtney*) which was heard at divers stages at Durham House, in 1591; Egerton on one occasion being counsel. In 1600 the house was nearly burnt while Raleigh was away in Jersey, of which island he had just been appointed governor. Norden tells us that Durham House was very pleasantly situated on the Thames, and that the hall was stately and high, and supported by marble pillars.

\* *Cal. State Papers, 1547-80*, p. 105.

Aubrey gives us another view of the house. He says:—

I well remember his study, which was on a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is as pleasant as any in the world.

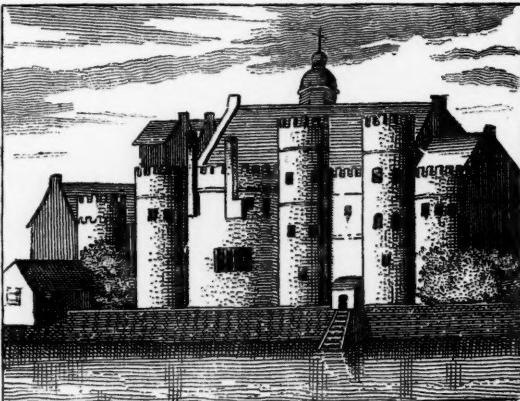
Everything has changed, not a stone remains to remind us of Durham House; but the Thames still flows on, and we now look from the Adelphi Terrace upon what Raleigh looked upon three centuries ago from that little tower.

In 1603, when Elizabeth died, Raleigh was left without a friend. His next door neighbour, the subtle Cecil, had the opportunity to injure him, and availed himself of that opportunity eagerly. No time was lost, and on the 31st of May an order for his ejection from the house, upon which he had spent £2,000, was signed by James. Lord Salisbury did not appear in the business, but he set up Toby Mathew, Bishop of Durham, as the claimant. Raleigh objected to being turned out in a hurry, and in a letter, written in

June 1603, he refers to his retinue of forty persons and his twenty horses. He writes: I am of oppinion that if the King's Majestye had recovered this howse or the like from the meanest gentleman and servant hee had in Inglande, that his Maiestye would have geven six moneths tyme for the avoydance, and I do not know butt that the poorest artificer in London hath a quarter's warninge given hym by his land lord.

The Lord Keeper to whom the letters\* were addressed in this affair was the same Egerton whom we have already noted as a counsel before Raleigh in Durham House. When our hero was tried in November, he was charged with having concocted his treason with Lord Cobham in Durham House.

\* *Egerton Papers (Camden Society)*, p. 380.



Durham House, 1660

FIG. 2.

I linger over this period of Raleigh's occupancy, for his was the greatest name I have to register. This grand Elizabethan fairly fascinates us by the greatness of his genius, the splendour of his gallantry, and the vastness of his learning, and association with him is a high distinction for any place. The late Mr. Dante Rossetti's beautiful sonnet\* refers to that cell in the Tower, where the noble spirit was so long cribbed and cabined, but I think it not altogether out of place to quote it with reference to the spot where he lived in the years of his prosperity, and laid the foundations of the knowledge he afterwards poured out for the instruction of subsequent ages :

Here writ was the World's History by his hand,  
Whose steps knew all the earth ; albeit his world  
In these few piteous paces then was furled.  
Here daily, hourly, have his proud feet spanned  
This smaller speck than the receding land  
Had ever shown his ships ; what time he hurled  
Abroad o'er new-found regions spiced and pearléd,  
His country's high dominion and command.  
  
Here dwelt two spheres. The vast terrestrial zone  
His spirit traversed ; and that spirit was  
Itself the zone celestial, round whose birth  
The planets played within the zodiac's girth ;  
Till hence, through unjust death, unfearèd, did pass  
His spirit to the only land unknown.

With the ejection of Raleigh the first act in the history of Durham House closes. After this the place was divided, and can no longer be considered as a whole. When Lord

\* Printed for the first time in Mr. Caine's *Sonnets of Three Centuries*.

Salisbury helped the Bishop of Durham to obtain back Durham House for the use of the see, he took care to reserve some portion for his own use. When Durham House was originally built, the Strand was little better than a back lane, and stables and outhouses were made to front it. These stables were seen from Salisbury House, and the earl found them an eyesore. He therefore raised a building to front the Strand, which was growing into an important thoroughfare. This he intended as a west-end exchange, and his intention frightened the citizens, who thought their trade might be taken from

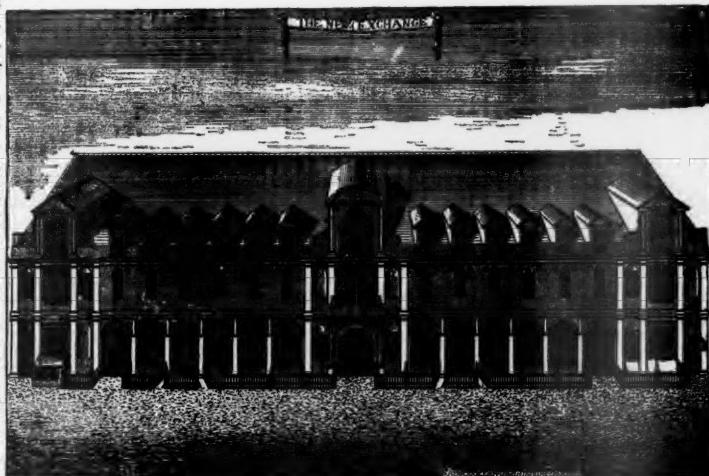


FIG. 3.—FRONT OF THE NEW EXCHANGE.

them. On June 10th, 1608, the first stone was laid, and on the 30th of the same month the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord Treasurer and enclosed

a Petition from the shop-keepers of the Exchange concerning a building in course of erection at Durham House in the Strand, which they considered was meant to be employed as a Pawne or Exchange, for the sale of things usually uttered in the Royal Exchange, and which being situated near to Whitehall and in the highway, would be injurious not only to the shop-keepers and to the citizens at large, but tend to the destruction of trade.

Although the petitioners beseeched his lordship to consider the consequences to the City, he paid little attention to the request, and continued building. On the 20th July Lord Salisbury wrote an answer to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and explained his reasons for carrying out the scheme.

On April 11th, 1609, James I. opened the New Exchange in presence of the Queen,

Prince Charles, and the Princess Elizabeth. We have here a good instance of the difficulty of introducing a name which is not in harmony with the spirit of the language. When Sir Thomas Gresham built his Exchange in imitation of the Bourse at Antwerp, he called it The Burse, but when Queen Elizabeth opened the building she caused a herald to proclaim it "The Royal Exchange," so to be called from thenceforth and not otherwise. When James opened the New Exchange he called it Britain's Burse, but it continued to be called the New Exchange. We thus see that the English people would have nothing to do with the foreign word Burse. The fears of the citizens proved groundless, and the Royal Exchange suffered no injury, but after the great fire the New Exchange took its place, and we find the dramatists of the Restoration full of allusions to this favourite resort. In one of Donne's elegies there is an allusion to the relative positions of the two exchanges. He writes :—

I asked . . .  
Whether the Britain Burse did fill apace,  
And likely were to give the Exchange disgrace.

(To be continued.)



### The Archaeology of Angling.

BY REV. M. G. WATKINS, M.A.

**A**LL fishermen love to trace their art to the earliest antiquity, and certainly Walton, their patriarch, has set them a good example. "Seth, one of the sons of Adam, taught it to his sons," he says ; and again, "it is as ancient as Deucalion's flood"; and with more definiteness,—though without stating his authority,—"Belus, who was the first inventor of godly and virtuous recreations, was the first inventor of angling."\* Mr. Ellacombe† quotes from Gower, ‡ a personage who for obscurity may

\* See Walton's *Compleat Angler*, i. 1. Since writing the above, on looking into Walton's first edition, I have found a marginal note, "J. Da. Jer. Mar.", i.e., J. Dennys (*Secrets of Angling*) and Jer. Markham (*Pleasures of Princes*).

† *Shakespeare as an Angler*, p. 44.  
‡ *Confessio Amant.*, v. 2, 83.

perhaps be classed along with these great names,

"Jahadel, as saith the boke,  
First made nette and fishes toke."

Modern investigations have carried back the antiquity of fishing to a still earlier period,—to prehistoric days. Our ancestors, the cavemen, doubtless knew how to catch fish in brooks by diverting the flow of water and leaving the pools bare. Shakespeare, the omniscient, may allude to this in the remark put into the barbarous Caliban's mouth,

"No more dams I'll make for fish."

Perhaps they were sufficiently civilized to tickle trout. Flint fish-hooks have, however, been discovered in the Mentone bone-caves, and hooks made of mother-of-pearl in the South Seas. Mr. Evans says,\*

Fish-hooks of bronze have been found in considerable abundance on the site of several of the Swiss lake-dwellings, and it is not a little remarkable that in form many of them are almost identical with the steel fish-hooks of the present day. The barb, to prevent the fish from struggling off the hook, is in most instances present, and double hooks are occasionally found. The attachment to the line was, even in the single hooks, frequently made by a loop or eye, formed by flattening and turning back the upper part of the shank of the hook. Fish-hooks were found in the Fonderie de Larnaud (Jura), and in the hoard of St. Pierre-en-Châtre (Oise).

The stone fishing hooks procured by Norden-skiöld from the Eskimos east of Behring's Strait may be compared with these primitive affairs; while on the American side of the straits the hooks used by the same people, though primitive, were artistic and ingenious in the highest degree. As these having probably been evolved from their own consciousness under the stimulus of necessity, there is the less incongruity in comparing them with what prehistoric men may have used. Norden-skiöld describes these Eskimo fishing implements as being made with extraordinary skill

of coloured sorts of bone or stone, glass beads, red pieces of the feet of certain swimming birds, etc. The different materials were bound together by twine made of whalebone in such a manner that they resembled large beetles, being intended for use in the same way as salmon-flies at home.†

\* *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, 1881, p. 191.

† See *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i., p. 445; and ii., 235. Some of these very hooks were exhibited at the Fisheries Exhibition, 1883.

Among the ancient nations of the old world fishing was well known, and the modes employed were not much dissimilar to those now used among the islanders of the Pacific. There was a great consumption of fish in ancient Egypt. The Israelites fondly regretted the fish of the Nile while they were in the desert. Nets like our seines, as well as hand-nets, were largely used, and may be seen represented on the monuments. Fish were caught also by hand lines, and by quaint short fishing rods. It would almost seem from the representations of those who fished with the rods and with bronze hooks that this exercise was indulged in—as with us—for recreation, while the net was more used by professional fishermen. Fish were also speared. Wilkinson gives an amusing illustration of an old gentleman fishing from a chair with as much *nonchalance* as a modern punt-fisher on the Thames.\* The allusions of the Hebrew prophets to fishing, which Walton mentions, were due to their old knowledge of fishing in Egypt. A fish was in that country sacred to Athor, the Venus of the land, from its productiveness; and the same emblem of nature-worship is found almost universally through the religions of the East. Thus in Phoenicia the great deity was a fish-god, Dagon, represented on the gems as half man, half fish. The same symbolism may be seen in the sculptures of Nineveh. In conformity with their deity, the Phoenicians, besides being great traders, were also great fishers. The fish is among the sacred creatures of India, along with the peacock and elephant, at the present day, and, as in ancient Egypt, certain castes are exclusively employed in fishing. With the Buddhists the sacred fish of legends attained a vast size, showing how the idea of divinity inherent in fish gradually developed and was transferred to physical qualities and size, as the purity of the original religion of Gotama Buddha declined. In the Buddhist sacred sea "there are fishes called Timinda, 2,000 miles in size; Timingala, 3,000 miles; and Timira Pingala, 5,000 miles."† As if this were not enough, four others are named, each 10,000 miles in size.

\* See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (1854, Murray), vol. i., p. 238.

† *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists* (1866, Williams & Norgate), p. 91.

Nin, the eponymus of Ninus and Nineveh, was a fish god. At Nimrud and Koyunjik Assyrians are frequently represented fishing either from the bank or while astride upon inflated skins.\* Oddly enough, although in common with the Chaldeans and Egyptians they must thus have known the use of bronze fish-hooks, they are never represented as using a fishing-rod.

A curious mode of fishing is mentioned by Herodotus in his account of the singular dwellers in pile houses over the lake Prasias, in Pœonia. These people opened a trap-door in the floors of their houses, and letting down an empty basket into the lake, speedily drew it up full of fishes, with which, he says, they fed their horses and beasts of burden.†

It has often been noticed how sparse are the allusions to fishing in the Homeric poems. Naturally they would be out of place in the *Iliad*, so that only one reference is made in that poem to the fisher's craft. A hero having thrust his spear into an adversary then drags him by it out of his chariot, "as when a man, sitting upon a projecting rock, drags a mighty fish from the sea to the shore with line and gleaming hook."‡

The procedure is more exactly described in the sister poem. Scylla drags from the ships of Odysseus six of his oarsmen, and lays them panting on her rocks before she devours them.

Just as when a fisherman on a jutting point with a very long rod, dropping down baits as a lure to little fish, casts into the sea a horn of the farmyard ox, and then having caught them, snatches them out panting and lays them on dry land. §

Here are a long salmon-like rod in the one instance, and a hook with a horn sheath over it to protect the bait either from crabs or from smaller fish, or (as Eustathius supposed) to keep the line from the bite of the fish itself; in the other, the fishing seems to be done with a long line and no rod. In any case, at the dawn of Grecian literature the implements of the fisher's craft appear much the same as at present. Odysseus himself regarded fishing as a mean occupation. He had rather starve on the Egyptian shore than join his mariners, "who ever wandered round the

\* Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i., p. 527.

† Herodotus, Lib. V., 16.

‡ *Iliad*, 16, 406.

§ *Odyssey*, 12, 251.

island fishing with bent hooks." \* We shall see further on how long this feeling lasted in Greece, and how unworthy of a free-born man fishing was considered. In another place Homer alludes casually to spearing fish, "joyless dainties," as if a fish diet itself were unpleasant. † So Plato, in his ideal *Republic*, would not permit his guards to eat fish, observing that Homer shows us that when the heroes feasted on their expeditions, even at the Hellespont, they never eat fish or boiled meat, but only what was roasted. ‡ These views probably sprang from that old-world superstitious reverence which prompted the Egyptians to hold their fish, especially those of the Nile, sacred,—

Illic cœruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic  
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.  
*Iuv.*, 15, 7.

See, too, Herodotus II., 72 and 93. Athenæus comments on the Homeric notices of fishing, and says rightly,

Homer is more exact on this art than those who have professedly composed poems or compendiums of it, as Cæcius the Argive, Numerius the Heracleot, Posidonius the Corinthian, and Oppian the Cilician.

Fish, he adds, was a food unsuited to the dignity of heroes;

so Homer does not name it any more than he does tender chickens at their banquets. They had oysters indeed at their meals, but they were nothing esteemed as lying in the depths of the sea,

and men must dive for them, which they soon grow tired of doing. He also inveighs, even in those days, against the insolence and greediness of fishmongers in a way that reminds us of the outcry at present against the "bummearies" and fishmongers of London. § The hatred of fish was not unknown among our own poetic heroes, as, for instance, Sir Galahalt.

The haut prince seemed wroth with some fault that he saw. For he had a custom he loved no fish; and because he was served with fish, the which he hated, therefore he was not merry. When Sir Dina-dan had espied the haut prince, he espied where was a fish with a great head, and that he got betwixt two dishes and served the haut prince with that fish. And then he said thus: "Sir Galahalt, well may I liken

\* *Odyssey*, 4, 369; and again in *Thrinacia*, 12, 331.

† *Odyssey*, 10, 124.

‡ Plato's *Republic*, 404b.

§ Athenæus, *Deipnosophista*, i. 22; vi. 11.

you to a wolf, for he will never eat fish, but flesh." Then the haut prince laughed at his words." \*

Hatred of a fish diet indeed was common to all the Keltic tribes. It imported drudgery in procuring it, which was unworthy of the hunter and warrior. Perhaps some lingering remains of the sentiment may yet be seen among the fisherfolk and maritime population of Ireland. Their seas teem with fish, but they lack the energy and enterprise which will capture it.

Turning to the Latin poets, Virgil has a few interesting notices bearing on our subject. In Saturn's Golden Reign there was no need of agriculture or any toilsome work:—

In medium quærebant, ipsaque tellus  
Omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat.

With the advent of Jupiter things were changed for the worse. Inventions were painfully struck out;

and one now beats the broad river with a casting net; another, seeking the depths of ocean, draws through it the dripping seines. ‡

Fish themselves are recognised as greedy creatures—"nimium est avidum pecus Amphiitrites," ‡ with whom no measures need be held. Disease attacks them, and the results are much like those of the modern *saprophynia*,—

Jam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum  
Litore in extremo, ceu naufragia corpora, fluctus  
Proluit. §

A pretty scene is drawn of fish disporting round Proteus,—

Cum vasti circum gens humida ponti  
Exsultans, rorem late dispergit amarum.||

The myth of Glaucus, the Boeotian fisherman, alluded to again by Plato, is neatly told by Ovid. The two chief modes of taking fish, whether in ancient or modern times, are described, —

Nam modo ducebam ducentia retia pisces,  
Nunc in mole sedens moderabar arundine linum.

His transformation into a fish will repay perusal. ¶ The *Hæleuticon* is, alas! but a fragment of what would otherwise have been to us moderns a most interesting poem on

\* *Morte d'Arthur*, x. 48.

† Virg., *Georg.*, i. 127, 141.

‡ *Ciris*, 486.

§ *Georg.*, iii. 541.

¶ *Georg.*, iv. 430.

|| *Met.*, xiii. 904—968.

fishing. This, however, in its present state is well worth reading, as it gives amusing pictures of the craft displayed by different fish in escaping the fisher's wiles, at the same time that they possess themselves of his bait. Many of the fish here recapitulated are unknown to us, but the rest can easily be recognised by an ichthyologist. The sepia (which the poet classes among fish) drops the bait, he says, as it is being drawn up. The mullet cunningly knocks it off with its tail. The lupus breaks away from the hook by main force. The muræna uses its strong teeth; while the anthias lies on its back and saws off the line with its dorsal fin.\* This fragmentary poem supplies an excellent motto for all anglers,—

Noster in arte labor positus, spes omnis in illa.  
In his terrible wintry exile the poet had noticed a phenomenon which is often remarked in our own times,—

Vidimus in glacie pisces hærere ligatos,  
Et pars ex illis tum quoque viva fuit.†

Among the few notices of fish or fishing among Greek classical poets the twenty-first Idyll of Theocritus (B.C. 280) must be excepted, not merely on account of its beautiful poetry, but still more for our present purpose on account of the implements of the two poor Syracusan fishermen who are celebrated in it. These consist of wicker baskets, rods, hooks, baits covered with seaweed, lines of horse hair, wells and wicker-work mazes, cords, oars, and an old boat on props.‡ The Idyll sets forth contentment. In it one of the men relates that he dreamed he had taken a golden fish, but found in the morning that necessity compelled him once more to follow his laborious calling. So the poem ends with the moral,

Catch real fish; you need not sure be told  
Those fools must starve who only dream of gold.

The mention of these poor fishermen leads to the moral estimate which Greeks and Romans formed of fishing. We have nowhere any hint that angling was ever followed by them, as among the ancient Egyptians, for

\* *Halieut.*, I-46.

† *Trist.*, 3, 10, 50.

‡ See Satchell and Westwood, *Bibliotheca Piscatoria*, and Hawkes's *Translation of Theocritus*, Ander-  
son's Poets, vol. xiii., p. 136.

the sake of recreation. It was ever esteemed a sordid craft, fit only for slaves and the poorest of men, as it lacked the excitement and danger of hunting.\* This was the sport *par excellence* of nobles, kings, and heroes. So Plato distinctly lays it down in two very remarkable passages in the Laws. After eulogising hunting in the highest terms, he adds,—

Fishing, together with fowling, is a pursuit not particularly suited to free men; as for the fisher, let him fish where he will, save in harbours and sacred rivers and marshes and lakes; only let him not use any infusion of the milky juices of herbs,

because this is a mean and poaching art. And still more emphatically he continues:—

O friends, may no desire or longing for sea-fishing ever overcome you; and have no care to use a hook in any wise; indeed, have nothing to do with the capture of watery creatures. Let any one who finds another fishing among cultivated fields and sacred places turn him about his business. But it shall be lawful for the fisherman to pursue his craft in all localities, save in harbours and sacred streams and marshes and lakes, if he use no infusion of drugs.†

A curious passage in Lucian combines the poverty of the ordinary fisherman with a love of his occupation on that one's part which is almost a foretaste of modern views on the point. Diogenes in Hades goes to the entrance to watch the behaviour of those who are ever coming down from the upper airs. He is astonished to find all, save the babes and the very young, weeping, and says,

What is this? does some love-charm hold them to life? I will ask this very old man, Why weepst thou, when thou hast died at so goodly an age? Why art thou grieved, my good friend, and that too when thou hast come here as an old man? Wert thou a king up above?

*Poor Old Man*: Certainly not.

*Diog.*: Perhaps a satrap?

*P. O. M.*: Not even that.

*Diog.*: Were you a rich man, then, that you grieve at leaving behind much luxury?

*P. O. M.*: Nothing of the kind. But I was about ninety years old, and earned a scanty livelihood by my

\* Reference may here be made to Trench, *Miracles*, 136-138, where are some admirable remarks on the Christian adoption of fishing and its metaphors, and its exaltation, in a spiritual sense, above hunting. He quotes Spanheim,—“Non venatores Dominus vocat, sed piscatores, non homines abigentes a se preadam sed colligentes.” See, too, Bekker's *Charicles* (Ed. 1880), p. 324.  
† Plato de Leg., viii., 824a, and 823e.

rod and line, being exceedingly poor, and moreover childless ; I was also lame and saw imperfectly.

*Dio.* : And in such a plight didst thou wish to live ?  
*P. O. M.* : Yes ; for the light was sweet, and death a thing of dread to be shunned.

*Dio.* : Thou art beside thyself, old man, and trifles like a young man with fate, and that when thou art as old as Charon who brought thee hither.\*

We subjoin two or three more notices from the Latin poets to show how they connected a fisherman's life with poverty and hardness. Thus Virgil—

Et juvenem exosum nequidquam bella Menæten  
Arcada, piscosæ cui cirum flumina Lernæ  
Ars fuerat, pauperque domus, nec nota potentum  
Limina. (*Aeneid*, xii., 518.)

Similarly, Ovid, of Acetes—

Pauper et ipse fuit ; linquo solebat et hamo  
Decipere, et calamo salientes ducente pisces.  
Ars illi sua census erat.

Moriensque mihi nihil ille reliquit  
Præter aquas ; unum hoc possum appellare paternum.  
Nox ego ne scopulis hærentem semper inisdem  
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante, carinæ  
Flectere. (*Met.*, iii., 586.)

And to the same effect, Statius, of Alcathous—

Cui circum stagna Carysti  
Et domus, et conjux, et amantes littora nati,  
Vixerat ille diu pauper scrutator aquarium ;  
Decepit tellus ; moriens hymesque notosque  
Laudat et experti meliora pericula ponti.  
(*Theb.*, vii., 718.)

Passing on to Oppian in the second century, who wrote a long poem on fish and fishing, our archaeological chronicle will derive little help from him. He describes no new processes of fishing, but deals in many fables connected with fish. A good translation of his book has been published by Diaper and Jones, Oxford scholars in the last century. This is worth possessing from an antiquarian as well as a poetic point of view. The case is very different with Ælian in the third century. He wrote a prose treatise in many books on piscatorial matters, and on animated nature at large. His book contains many myths, much ignorance, and much of what is now termed folk-lore, but which, like the other ancients, he accepted in sober earnestness for natural history. Thus in Lib. I., 5, after describing with some felicity the great sporting powers of the trout, misled by the etymology of the word, he adds forth-

\* Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead*, 443 (Ed. Jacobitz, vol. i., p. 185).

with a fable to the effect that trout join together in parties, attack some unhappy dolphin, and each take a bite out of it. In XIV., 8, is an account of taking eels in the Italian river Cretæus, which, as furnishing an entirely novel method of fishing, may deservedly claim a place here. The fishermen take, he says, sheep's guts of the length of three or four cubits, into which at one end they insert a reed and let the other depend in the water. Eels come and seize it, when they immediately blow air through the tube and garbage. This enters the bodies of the eels, and, as they are unwilling to let go, gradually puffs them out till they float and are then easily taken out by their cunning captors. But Ælian possesses a world-wide fame among anglers, in spite of his old wives' fables, for having given to the world the first clear account of fishing with an artificial fly. The passage occurs in the fifteenth book, and tells how the fishers on the river Astræus, in Macedonia, fasten red wool and cocks' hackles on hooks to imitate the fly *hippurus*, and then capture fish which were from his account a kind of trout.\*

It is needless to name the thousands of eels, salmon, and herring which in the middle ages were paid annually to the different lords of English manors. They testify eloquently to the havoc wrought in our rivers by erecting weirs and the like, and by the pollutions which are emptied into them. It is worth while to turn a moment to the different inventions which English anglers have successively introduced into their craft.

He that shall consider the variety of baits for all seasons, and pretty devices which our anglers have invented (says Burton),† peculiar lines, false flies, severall sleights, etc., will say that it deserves like commendation “with other sports,” requires as much study and perspicacity as the rest, and is to be preferred before many of them, because hunting and hawking are very laborious ; much riding and many dangers accompanying them, but this is still and quiet.

And then he eulogises angling in terms stolen without acknowledgment from Dame Juliana Berners. All literary anglers, however, will remember her eloquent encomium.

As for the antiquity of fish-hooks, something

\* See *Bib. Pisc.*, p. 2; where the credit of first pointing out this passage in Ælian is ascribed to Mr. Chatto.

† Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 406. Ed. 1826.

has already been said. Walton's words may be added—

Angling is much more ancient than the Incarnation of our Saviour ; for in the prophet Amos, mention is made of fish-hooks ; and in the Book of Job (which was long before the days of Amos, for that book is said to have been written by Moses), mention is made also of fish-hooks, which must imply anglers in those days. \*

Mr. Ellacombe has pointed out an early mention of the artificial fly in *Martial*, v., 18, which is earlier indeed than Ælian's notice.

Imitantur hamos dona ; namque quis nescit  
Avidum vorata decipi scarum musca.

The reel was certainly unknown in Walton's time, for he speaks of throwing in the rod when a large fish is on the hook, and recovering it as he can. Had he known of the reel he would simply have let out line. The float appears first in an illustration of *The Dialogues of Creatures Moralized* (Paris 1520).† Silk-worm gut is first named among angling authors by James Saunders (1724) ; but Pepys had mentioned it in his *Diary* sub March 18th, 1667. It seems to have come into common use about 1760.‡

The great question which remains,—at what time did fishing from a mode of taking fish become a recreation ?—can only be approximately settled. In Egypt, as we have seen, fishing was a rich man's pastime. There is no other record of this tendency until the middle ages. The peace and abundance of leisure which belonged to the monks would naturally engender this view of their craft. One or two rare books reflect this aspect of fishing in the fifteenth century. For another century it either remained undeveloped or at all events unnoticed in print. With the conclusion of the civil wars and the rise of a large literature of angling, it begins to be celebrated far and wide in England. Not so many angling books were published in the eighteenth century, that dull and leaden age, but the present one has amply repaid its predecessor's neglect. No sport is at present so popular with all ranks of Englishmen as fishing. The taste has not spread much indeed on the Continent, where fishing still remains for the most part a base mechanical device for sup-

plying fish to rich men's tables, but America enthusiastically follows in the wake of and emulates the parent country. No eulogy of angling therefore is needed here. Sir Galahad, according to *Morte d'Arthur*, possessed a sword, the haft of which was made of a serpent's bone. We often think this same bone is fashioned into the handles of fishing rods, "for the bone is of such a virtue, that there is no hand that handleth him shall never be weary nor hurt." Similarly we are quite sure, as often as we go angling, that the fish we capture

Is a fish which is not right great, and haunteth the flood of Euphrates ; and that fish is called Ertanax, and his bones be of such a manner of kind that who that handleth them shall have so much will that he shall never be weary, and he shall not think on joy nor sorrow that he hath had, but only that thing that he beheldeth before him.\*

So entrancing, so sedative, so refreshing is the time-honoured art of angling.



### At the Royal Academy.



HATEVER may be said of the artistic merits of this year's exhibition, certainly the archæologist will not complain. In the first place more historical subjects are dealt with than we remember to have noticed in previous exhibitions, and secondly they are dealt with by men who understand, and are capable of executing, the highest functions of art. To take two instances that seem to stand out prominently from the rest, we would mention *The Vigil* (359), and *The Site of an Early Christian Altar* (410). We of this age can scarcely estimate the immense work performed by the Christian Church in days when to hang, draw, and quarter a man who would scarcely be considered criminal in this day was a common practice, and wholesale barbarisms were committed on the criminal's dead body. The custom of holding a *vigil* before installation into knighthood is very well known, but we

\* *Compleat Angler*, i., i.

† *Bib. Fisc.*, p. 79.

Ibid., p. 189.

\* *Morte d'Arthur*, xvii., 3.

venture to think no historian has painted its influence upon the future knight's character as Mr. Pettie has done on his canvas. The majestic loneliness and the hopeful brightness of the scene convey a whole history to the mind, the dark columns of the church standing in contrast to the lighted altar. Mr. Pettie's other picture is based upon a quotation from Laurie's *History of Freemasonry* :—

The method adopted in fixing the orientation of churches has been preserved in some of the Scotch Lodges. . . . The site of the altar was decided upon and marked by a pole fixed in the ground. . . . The sun's rays appearing above the horizon fixed the line of orientation.

From a dense wood, portrayed in the left of the picture, have come a small band of monks who have set to work and made the first clearing in the forest. Fallen trees lay before them, and the morning rays of the sun illumine the earnest countenances of the group, giving a most faithful idea of the work of the early pioneers of Christianity. *Thisbe* (358), by Mr. Long, is a particularly fine picture, the beauty of the girl's face being equal to anything we have noticed. Ovid's lines—

An envious wall the Babylonian maid  
From Pyramus, her gentle lover, stayed—

are well illustrated ; the hard unyielding wall appears quite pitiless against the soft face of Thisbe, while the figure in all its classic grace seems capable of winding through the

. . . tiny chink . . .  
Sufficed to bear love's messages.

In Mr. Detmold's *The Archaeologist* (33) there is much truth, and we are not disposed to quarrel with the almost humorsome interest with which the old antiquary is looking upon the objects of stone before him. Mr. Marks' *The Entomologist* (526) is almost a companion picture, though painted with more appreciation for the study it represents. Mr. Alma-Tadema's *Hadrian in England visiting a Romano-British Pottery* (245) is undoubtedly a magnificent work of art, but we question whether the antiquary will not find that it gives too modern an idea of the scene depicted. We rather doubt whether Hadrian in England would visit a pottery in the same sort of way as the Prince of Wales might have done in India a few years ago. No doubt the pottery and mosaic work and all

the archaeological details of the picture are perfect, and well worth study, but the men do not appear to belong to the surroundings. Sir John Gilbert's *Morning of the Battle of Agincourt* (258) is a very beautiful picture. He has taken for his text those contemptuous words put into the mouth of Grandpré in Shakespeare's *King Henry V.*, act iv., scene 2.

Yon island carriions . . . .  
Their horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks.

Our readers know the quotation well enough, and Sir John Gilbert has certainly caught the idea conveyed by the French description, and the figure of the old knight, his hands resting on his horse's neck in silent prayer, forms the central point of the picture ; but behind this old knight, who did his duty, sits a younger man, whose resolute countenance, and almost vindictive look, might have forewarned the French that the "beggared host" would fight rather than yield. The whole conception of the picture is very fine. Of highly dramatic interest is Mr. Gow's *Bothwell* (447), who quotes some lines of Mr. Swinburne as the text to his picture. *A Martyr in the 16th Century* (826), by Mr. Geets, is also of great historic interest, as it relates to *Jehanne de Santhove*, a Lutheran led out to be buried alive. It may be our misfortune, but we cannot appreciate Mr. Frith's work, which this year is devoted to pictures of historical interest. His *Cruel Necessity* (353) represents to our mind an impossibility. He quotes from Spence's anecdotes the well-known passage of Cromwell visiting the dead body of Charles I. on the night after the execution, when Lord Southampton and a friend were sitting by the body in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall. According to this authority, the figure supposed to be Cromwell "was very much muffled up in his cloak," and came in "in a slow and concealed manner;" and yet we have in the picture the figure of Cromwell in the foreground without any disguise, and Lord Southampton and his friend in the background, in energetic attitude quite incompatible with Cromwell's supposed secrecy. *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Siddons* (306) is interesting but characterless. We much prefer Mr. Yeames's *Toast of the Kit-cat Club* (332), with its portrait figures of Addison,

Steele, and others. We cannot go through all the antiquarian charms of the exhibition, but Mr. Olivier's *An Old English Country Inn* (99); Mr. Oakes's *Old Roman Bridge over the Ogwen River* (207), where nature seems to be outdoing the handiwork of the great Roman; Mr. Sainsbury's *Old Cross in the Eifel, Germany* (673); Mr. Prinsep's *Saturday Dole in Worcester Chapter House* (810); Mr. Lucas's *Rebel-hunting after Culloden* (881), are all worth special attention. We must mention three very beautiful works of art, though outside our special scope, viz., Mr. Riviere's *King and his Satellites* (88); Mr. H. T. Wells' *Loading at a Quarry* (137); and, above all, Mr. C. E. Johnson's *The Wye and the Severn* (811).



## The University of Edinburgh.

BY LEONARD A. WHEATLEY.

 N the 8th of April, 1562, the Town Council of Edinburgh requested the Lord James Stuart (afterwards Earl of Murray) to use his influence to obtain for the town a grant from the church lands "within the walls, for the support of the regents of a college to be built within the burgh." And on the 17th of August this petition was laid before Queen Mary, asking for the "Kirk of Field" for a college (a "scule"). The queen promised to accede to the petition as soon as sufficient provision was made for building.

On the 5th of March, 1563, the council appointed a small committee to negotiate with the provost of the "Kirk of Field" for the purchase of the whole buildings and lands pertaining thereto, and by the 20th it was agreed that £10,000 should be paid for them. Civic troubles, however, put an end to the agreement, and in 1567 the murder of Darnley made the spot notorious. Soon after, Mary gave the town council a charter, conferring on the town all the lands belonging to whatsoever churches, chapels, or colleges are within the liberty of our said town of Edinburgh, from the revenue, to support the ministers of the town, and to erect hospitals.

For some years difficulties prevented the

council from obtaining the site, owing to the different tenants, but after some years, the property of many of them having been confiscated, that of the others was bought up, and the town council applied to King James for power to obtain the legacy of 8,000 marks left by the Bishop of Orkney. In 1558 Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, among other legacies, had left money to found a college on the south side of the town. Having obtained this legacy in 1581 the college was commenced, and in 1583 completed; when Robert Rollock was appointed the first "Regent" or Professor at a salary of £40 scots per annum, with 6s. 8d. a day for board.

On the 4th of October he commenced a four years' course, when he taught Latin and Greek, grammar and literature, philosophy and Hebrew; \* but finding many pupils unacquainted with the rudiments, he applied for an assistant, and Duncan Bairn was appointed to teach Latin. In 1586 Rollock was appointed Principal, and in 1587 Professor of Divinity. Such was the humble origin of the Edinburgh University. It had some good friends later on, as, for instance, Andrew, Earl of Teviot, who left it 8,000 marks in 1663. In October 1883, the college having completed its three hundredth year, preparations were made by the Senatus Academicus to celebrate the tercentenary in a proper manner, but as it was not advisable to interrupt the work of the session, the celebration was postponed to the close, and the labours of the *Senatus*, which have been very arduous, have been crowned with success. The town council having acted a principal part in the founding of the University, have always taken a lively interest in its prosperity, and, accordingly, they were the first to welcome the distinguished visitors who came to do honour to the University.

The celebration commenced on April 17th with a service in St. Giles' Cathedral. This building, the beauty of which had been almost ruined, has been within the last few years gradually restored at the expense of the late William Chambers, and is now in a better condition than it has been since the

\* This system of Regents was retained until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Professors were appointed, each to teach a special subject.

Reformation, and its fine interior looked very grand when filled with the University authorities and their guests, mostly in many-coloured robes with gold crosses, stars, and chains, and with hoods of various hues. The procession was formed in the Signet library, and walked in state into the cathedral, where it was met by the clergy. After prayers by Dr. Lees and hymns sung by the choir, Professor Flint preached a sermon on "The advantage of remembering the former things, and on the duty of pressing forward." He spoke of the University three hundred years ago,—

Like a tiny feeble plant set in a frozen soil under a wintry sky, and amidst gathering storms, its feeble vitality preserved by the intense religious zeal of Rollock. Then when the storms of religious passion swept over the land, it had the directing mind of Henderson; when fanaticism and intolerance had converted the country into a well of Marah, the saintly Leighton was sent; when political sagacity was required, it found it in Carstairs; and in the transition from ecclesiastical to a literary epoch, Robertson was found to direct the movement.

After the luncheon the students gave a representation in the Theatre Royal of a dramatized version of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*. And in the evening a *conversazione*, attended by three thousand ladies and gentlemen, was held in the University Library, which forms the south side of the building designed by Adam. The foundation stone was laid by Lord Napier November 16th, 1789, on the same site as the old building, but not completed till 1815. This library contains one hundred and sixty thousand volumes, and many valuable MSS., among which may be mentioned the original protest by the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia addressed to the Council of Constance in 1415, in reference to the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. It dates before the University itself, as Clement Littill, who died in 1580, left his books "to his native town of Edinburgh, and to the Kirk of God therein." These books passed into the keeping of the College, and formed the nucleus of the future library. A ball was given by the students about midnight.

Thursday, at 10.30 a.m., the centre of attraction was the Synod Hall, which had been built in 1875 as the "Edinburgh Theatre," but on its failure was purchased

by the United Presbyterians, and converted into their college. The Hall was rapidly filled,—the body with the delegates and visitors, the galleries and beneath them with the public, among whom were many in gowns and hoods. The ceremony commenced with the presentation of addresses by the delegates of over seventy Universities, Spain, Turkey, and Greece being the only countries in Europe unrepresented. The address from the University of Bologna, the oldest in the world, was presented by Count Saffi, its Professor of History and Public Law, who had been one of the triumvirs with Garibaldi and Mazzini at Rome in 1848. Frederick de Martens, Professor of International Law, and continuer of his father's *Recueil de Traits*, represented St. Petersburg. There was even a representative from Tokio in Japan. Then came the delegates from other learned bodies, such as Sir J. Lubbock from the University of London, Sir F. Leighton from the Royal Academy, Sir W. Fettes Douglas from the Royal Scottish Academy, Dr. Arthur Mitchell, one of the Rhind Lecturers for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Mr. J. Marshall, the Rector from the High School of Edinburgh, which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. After the reception of the delegates there came the bestowal of degrees of doctors of divinity and of laws. Among the recipients of the former were Professor Beets, the accomplished divine, poet, and novelist from Utrecht; Bishops Lightfoot and Chas. Wordsworth, Canon Westcott, Principal Caird, Professor Salmon, Rev. T. K. Cheyne, and Rev. J. Martineau; and of the latter, Robt. Browning, Russell Lowell, Freeman, Seeley, Villari and Perrot, Jowett, Liddell, and Merivale, Helmholtz, Pasteur, Pettenkofer, Virchow, Lubbock and Rayleigh, Newton, Laveleye, Lesseps, Saffi, Rawlinson, Nigra and Skeat, Sieyeking, Marshall, Paget, and Gull.

The Chancellor (Lord President Inglis) then delivered his address, welcoming the guests, who formed, as he said, "such a representation of the intellect, the erudition, and the science of modern times as was never before brought together in this country." He traced the rise of the University "only three hundred years ago," from a simple college with one master to teach its sixty or seventy

students, "the child of the Reformation," till the present time, when its students number 3,341. There was then a luncheon at the Physicians' Hall in Queen Street, which was built in 1843. After which there were receptions at the Royal Medical Society's rooms in Melbourne Place, and at the Advocates' Library, where a new addition capable of holding 140,000 volumes was formally opened.

Friday began with a breakfast at the College of Surgeons, where was to be seen a chair and desk which belonged to John Hunter, and which had been presented by Dr. Goodsir to the museum of the university. The chair is made of wood brought from one of the South Sea Islands by Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks. After this took place the reception by the students in the Synod Hall. Sir Stafford Northcote (the Rector) took the chair, and introduced the various speakers, the first of whom was Mr. Russell Lowell, who was followed by Professor Beets, who made an amusing speech on Scotland, its poets and writers. Monsieur de Lesseps gave his personal history, Virchow his reasons for not accepting the extreme views of German Darwinians, Helmholtz his own practical experience, Pasteur dwelt on the need of work, the appreciation of great men and great things, and of the importance of the scientific method, and Laveleye on the necessity of charity being joined to political economy.

Several works have appeared to serve as memorials of this celebration; among the most valuable are the *Viri Illustres Acad. Jacob. Sext.*, etc., which contains a short notice of all the famous men who have been connected with the University; and *Our Town's Colledge*, by John Harrison, which gives a very good *résumé* of the history of the University and of its different buildings.



## Reviews.

*The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London.* With an Introduction and Notes by An Antiquary. (London, 1844: Whiting & Co.) 4to, pp. xlvi, 338.



T

A time when the old municipal government of London is threatened by the hand of reformers, it is not unwise to give some attention to the methods by which the

old institutions have been built up. The chartered rights of London do not represent all its rights; there is a vast body of unwritten customs, uncodified local law, which the citizens of old have exercised and practised, and which perhaps is older than the oldest chartered rights. But while unwritten custom has gradually passed away, and become unknown and unrecognized by the law, chartered rights remain, and stand at this moment in mute appeal against the setting up of a fabric which, whatever its merits, will not be the result of the experience of years and centuries of years. Of course our duty here is not a political duty, but the thought must come home to the antiquary above all men that what has been erected by so much labour in the past should not be pulled down in a moment. London has stood her ground well as the upholder of all constitutional rights and privileges, and this has been done under the municipal system represented by her charters; and, indebted as the nation is to her capital, it should be careful how it meddles with the power that has been so often wielded in the cause of right.

The charters of London have been printed several times before, but the time had certainly arrived, apart from the special circumstances, for a new and more critical edition. We do not know who the Antiquary is who has produced the volume before us, but he has done his work well. One or two points in the introduction we are not disposed to agree with, but on the whole there is ample evidence of a full grasp of the subject. "The history of every corporation," says the author, "is bound up in its documents." If this is meant to convey that the charters give anything like an accurate idea of the early history of municipalities, we cannot agree with the doctrine. Much has been done since Kemble wrote towards the elucidation of the early history of English towns, and one or two chapters have to be written before we arrive at the stage where the charters commence their story. They commence at the stage where kingly power had grown to its height, and each successive charter represents the privileges wrung from the central government by the growing demands of commercial progress. Commercial progress meant national progress. But it is curious to note the jealousies of the Londoners respecting the free intercourse of commercial transactions; and the record of the rioting in 1518 of the Londoners against those who had settled outside the city walls, is perhaps the first instance of the jealousy of London for greater London. This jealousy is put into documentary evidence by the famous proclamation of Queen Elizabeth in July 1580 against new buildings in and about London. This document forms No. xli. of the present collection. It appears that the Lord Mayor had made representations respecting the increase of buildings as an affair from which bad consequences were to be apprehended, not only to the city but to the nation. The proclamation which followed contains some curious information relative to the state of the city which might almost stand for evidence in the present day. "There are," it says, "such great multitudes of people brought to inhabit in small rooms, whereof a great part are seen very poor, yea, such as must live of begging or worse means, and they heaped up together, and in a sort smothered with many families of children and servants in one house or

small tenement." The remedy for this state of things was that no new building should be erected within three miles from either of the gates of London, a remedy which would scarcely have obviated the evil, and which we know was never practically carried out. London has grown from Elizabeth's time onward, and the giant strides of the last fifty years do not perhaps represent the full limits. Two most important charters are Nos. xl and xlv. The first grants to the citizens the manor of Southwark, and this is a remarkable instance of the extension of the city municipal right, because, although the corporation became lords of the manor of Southwark, the citizens of that borough were brought under the influences of city law. This charter forms a remarkable study at the present day, and shows how the city privileges might be extended without being swept away. The other charter is the first of Charles I., which grants Moorfields and Smithfield to the citizens on condition that no buildings be erected. Now both these open spaces were old property of the city, and the charter grant does not do more than indicate the determination to keep them as open spaces, a determination which was not, alas! kept. If the topographical condition of modern London had followed the lines of her early history and of her chartered history we should be able to connect the London of mediæval times with the London of Saxon times, and perhaps of Roman times; but such a book as the present, with its excellent index, will go far towards re-constructing the old constitutional map of London.

*Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.* By THOMAS WRIGHT. Second edition, edited and collated by RICHARD PAUL WÜLKNER. (London, 1884 : Trübner & Co.) 2 vols.

Dr. Wülkner has chosen a very opportune moment for the re-issue of Wright's Vocabularies. Word-lore is at last being recognized as one of the most important studies in unlocking the secrets of the past, and these vocabularies ranging from the eighth to the fifteenth century, are peculiarly valuable in their aid towards ascertaining something of the lives of men in those days. They do not give us a complete dictionary of the language in use, literary and colloquial; and so much the better. They take up such words as are popularly known to the author, or they take up some subject and exhaust the vocabulary of words applicable to it. Thus we can easily understand how useful these word lists must be. The words, for instance, which describe a house are few in number,—a hall, a bedroom, and a kitchen complete the list. And the materials are shown to be beams of wood, laths, and plaster. Well, these words convey to us an exact description of the Anglo-Saxon house, and when we turn to the corresponding Norman vocabulary, the full significance of the meagre Anglo-Saxon vocabulary is apparent. There we have the baronial hall furnished with board and trestles; benches, or seats; a long settle to draw up to the fire, or to place on the dais; a ceremonial chair and a stool; a cushion for the chair; carpets to lay over the principal seats; a screen; a basin and laver; and irons, tongs, and bellows. There is some approach to comfort here. We can trace the advance of luxury which the

Normans brought with them. We can test the social surroundings of each age, and build up from thence some not uninteresting pictures of bygone years. Perhaps the most interesting vocabulary of the series is No. xx., *A Pictorial Vocabulary of the Fifteenth Century*. It contains word-lists on the parts of the human body, church furniture, names of domestic animals and birds, fish, vermin, metals, stones; words appertaining to cooking, to the buttery, and to the pantry; clothes; of the different parts of the house; church and state officials; agriculture, and other equally interesting sections of social life. To each of these sections are given some rude and quaint drawings, which add much to the value of the vocabulary. In very many instances the English words given as the equivalent of the Latin in these vocabularies are still extant in our provincial dialects. We must add, that the editor has devoted his second volume to giving a much needed Latin index, Anglo-Saxon index, and Old English index, thus connecting the various vocabularies into one alphabet, and making it useful in the ordinary dictionary sense as well as in its own special functions.

*Folklore of Shakespeare.* By REV. T. F. THISELTON DYER. (London, 1884 : Griffith & Farran.) 8vo., pp. xi, 526.

If Mr. Dyer does not give us any new truths about Shakespeare, if he does not get up from his study of Shakespeare's folklore with any new facts about the lessons which folklore may reveal when thus gained from old literature, he at all events presents to the reader an inexhaustible mine of useful notes, classified and arranged, and ready for the workman's tool which shall fashion them into some lesson-teaching record. The book is divided into chapters on fairies, witches, ghosts, demonology and devil lore, natural phenomena, birds, animals, plants, insects and reptiles, folk-medicine, customs connected with the calendar, birth and baptism, marriage, death and burial, rings and precious stones, sports and pastimes, dances, punishments, proverbs, human body, fishes, sundry superstitions, miscellaneous customs, etc. As a classified collection of Shakespeare's folklore, we have nothing to urge against this arrangement, and most of the chapters are dealt with in a manner that shows the author has some considerable knowledge of the subject outside the pages of Shakespeare. One exception to this rule, however, is to be met with in the chapter on folk-medicine. The term folk-medicine was first used by Mr. William George Black in 1878, and Mr. Dyer adopts the convenient phrase without a single reference to Mr. Black's book, published by the Folklore Society last year, and forming in our opinion the most valuable book published by the Society. We cannot but regret this, because we feel sure that a chapter on Shakespeare's folk-medicine, from the basis laid down by Mr. Black, would be a valuable addition to our knowledge of early beliefs. Mr. Dyer's chapter on marriage is most interesting, though we cannot agree that "marriage before witnesses" in the open village, without church ceremony, is derived from Roman law. It is too archaic for Roman law. Another very interesting chapter is that on sports and pastimes, Shakespeare's references to these indicating a warm

sympathy, which tells us how much he loved the active life which is so characteristic of our English race. Surely Mr. Dyer must have forgotten how popular football still is—he most certainly has never played it himself. Some of the games, however, are new to us. Dances make a very valuable contribution to folklore, and one which is capable of much expansion and much archaic illustration. Altogether, we think that Mr. Dyer's book is a very useful addition to our collections of folklore as enshrined in literature, and as he is careful to quote chapter and verse, and is accurate in his references and text, he renders the student good service; but we are bound to say that he has missed an opportunity of producing a book which would have ranked far higher than a collector's manual.

*A Cursory History of Swearing.* By JULIAN SHARMAN. (London, 1884: Nimmo & Bain.) 8vo, pp. vii, 199.

Although Mr. Sharman does not give us anything like a complete history of oath-taking, his little book will be found of some considerable interest by those who like curious out-of-the-way facts, connected with the ordinary routine of every-day life. There is much history in an oath. It takes us back into a remote past sometimes, and gives the student many clues to that system of pagan belief which gave way before Christianity. Into this, the most interesting part of the subject according to our opinion, Mr. Sharman does not enter; but he deals with some curious and interesting facts of later days, and has succeeded in producing a contribution to a subject that some day may receive a little more attention.

*Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.* Vol. II. Edited by J. P. Postgate. (London, 1883: Trübner & Co.) 8vo., pp. viii, 284, 43.

The most generally interesting paper in this important volume is that of Mr. H. J. Roby, on "Some Words and Questions connected with the Roman Survey and Distribution of Public Land." The words dealt with are arcifinus, decumanus, occupatorius ager, intercisiis limitibus, ager uiritanus, jus vestigialis, per centurias. Now the subject of land-holding in ancient Rome is of the utmost importance to the enquirer into European land-holding, and such enquiries as Mr. Roby institutes must be welcome to a large class of students quite outside those to whom philology alone is of value. Mr. Roby establishes one or two important points which seem to us to confirm some of Mr. Coote's opinions, that the land tenures of Saxon England were sensibly affected by the practices and theories of Roman Britain, and it suggests the idea that perhaps the whole question of Roman terminology in matters connected with land holding requires attention at the hands of competent philologists. In fact, the value of the work accomplished by a Philological Society can scarcely be over-rated. The labour involved is too great for students in other branches of knowledge to turn aside into philology for the elucidation of any critical point; but if the philologist gives his facts and leaves them to be studied by the specialist, the gain is enormous. Mr. Herman Hager gives an account of Richard Croke

during that part of his life which was spent abroad—a piece of biography that is welcome on many grounds; and Prince Bonaparte gives a collection of words connected with the vine in Latin and neo-Latin dialects. Classical philology occupies by far the largest portion of the society's labours, nor are we disposed to suggest that this is not as it should be.

*Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and long before, together with Notes on the Cults and Customs of Twenty-three other Islands in the Pacific.* By GEORGE TURNER, with a preface by E. B. TYLOR. (London, 1884: Macmillan.) 8vo pp. xviii., 395.

Folklorists and anthropologists will welcome this book. It comes to us backed by the authority of Dr. Tylor, and its own value quite bears out the recommendation. The evidence which the Samoan contributes to the history of man in his early days is clear and decisive, and Dr. Turner has marshalled his facts into such succinct order that the student may at once turn to the chapter or page and find what he requires. Mr. Pritchard, in his *Polynesian Reminiscences*, gives us some important and remarkable facts about the Samoan, and it is satisfactory to find that Dr. Turner, for the most part, confirms this authority. Like most barbaric peoples who had approached to something like a cohesive state of society, the Samoans had village gods as well as family gods; but we think that the transition is plain enough. Take the god Moso for example. This was the name of one of the great land gods in opposition to Tangaloa, the god of the heavens. But Moso was also in some places a family god; and we think that herein lies the important transitional stage showing that family life had not yet given way to village life. A remarkable portion of village worship was that accompanying certain stones. We know in England how this worship has survived; but the Samoan instance of two stones at the boundary of two villages, bearing the tradition of being two young men who quarrelled, fought, and killed each other on that very spot, and whose bodies were turned into stones, is a remarkable parallel. To these stones resorted anybody from the two villages who quarrelled, and there the quarrel was settled. Among the family gods was Aloimasinga, or a child of the moon. On the appearance of the new moon all the members of the family called out, "Child of the moon, you have come." One of the prayers offered to this child of the moon was—

Oh, child of the moon !  
Keep far away  
Disease and death ;

and they also prayed before leaving the house to go to battle. The part our own "Man in the moon" and the new moon play in English folklore, and in folk medicine especially, will at once occur to the reader. The Samoans have many relics of a communistic society. Hospitality is the rule of life, and every one expects to be helped by fellow-clansmen. Thus the idea of individual property, though it exists, exists only in a temporary fashion; and although, as Dr. Turner says, this system does away with the necessity of poor laws, it keeps back the society from individual effort, and is, we doubt not, one of the main reasons

for the non-progressive nature of a large portion of the human race. Dr. Turner touches upon all the subjects interesting to anthropologists in this admirable book, and he gives an appendix of words in fifty-nine of the Polynesian Dialects. A good index completes a book, which we can warmly recommend to all our readers who care to illustrate the past of civilization by the present of barbarism.



## Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

### METROPOLITAN.

**British Archæological Association.**—April 2nd.—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—Mr. T. Lambert exhibited two huge silver-mounted buckles used for some purposes of state. Some interesting silver medals with Freemasons' emblems and copies of the oldest of the seals of the city of Canterbury were also shown.—Mr. Jarvis described a curious steel chatelaine holder of seventeenth century date, and Mr. Waye exhibited a silver medal with the portrait of our Lord with an inscription in Hebrew. Mr. Loftus Brock described a large number of examples of black Greek and Etruscan pottery, without patterns, remarkable for the beauty of their forms.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a fine series of articles of early date found in recent excavations in the City. Among these were some remarkable Norman jugs, in perfect condition, found on parts of the site of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a site which has hitherto been less opened of late years than almost any other part of London. An encaustic paving tile was also found, of fourteenth century date, and a boss, modelled in hard cement, of the sixteenth century, a relic, doubtless, of some domestic building erected on the site after the Dissolution. It contains the device of an eagle pecking at a skull.—A paper was read in part “On Tenby and St. David's,” by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew.—A paper was then read by Mr. W. de Grey Birch, “On the Embankment of Rivers, etc., in Roman Times, with special reference to the Thames,” in the absence of its author, Mr. C. Roach-Smith.

April 16th.—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—A series of small leaden coins, with patterns not unlike those of the Norman silver pennies found in the Thames, were exhibited by Mr. L. Brock.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew produced a curious roller with an elaborate pattern, intended apparently for stamping leather. Several other articles were shown, including some Roman glass found under High Street, Peckham.—Mr. Jarvis exhibited a fine example of Hindu carving in hard wood, covered with mythological subjects.—The Chairman read a description, by Mr. J. Pierce, of the Roman amphitheatre recently discovered in Paris. It is not far from the Panthéon, in the slope of the hill towards the

Jardin des Plantes. Twenty feet of earth have been removed from above the ruins, and some of the passages have been cleared out. There are several of the seats for spectators remaining, and many more, it is expected, will be met with. The masonry is of small squared stones. This is a remarkable discovery, to which hitherto not much public attention has been directed.—Mr. Langdale exhibited some letters written by Sir M. Langdale to Prince Rupert, 1644, and one written by Sir T. Vavasseur.—The Rev. S. Mayhew then concluded his paper “On the Antiquities of St. David's,” which is to be visited during the coming congress. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, in the absence of its author, read a paper by Dr. W. Smart on the antiquities of Nursling and various Roman roads which passed through the district of the New Forest. The course of one across the Test river at Nursling was traced, and descriptions were given of the old castle at Birley Beacon, a British encampment, and of Tatchbury, where several Roman roads converge and the Test was crossed.

**Anthropological Institute.**—April 22nd.—Prof. Flower, President, in the chair.—The Marquis of Lorne sent to express his regret at his inability to attend; he exhibited a large collection of North American objects, including a scalp taken last summer.—Sir Richard Owen communicated a paper on a portrait of an aboriginal Tasmanian. The paper was illustrated with two busts and several portraits belonging to the Institute.—Prof. A. H. Keane then read a paper on the ethnology of the Egyptian Soudan, which was described as a region of extreme complexity—a converging point of all the great races of the African continent, except the Hottentots and Bushmen.

**Numismatic.**—April 17th.—Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. Vaux exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac, a gold coin of the Gupta dynasty, having on the obverse a divinity standing between two female figures, and the inscription “Kumāra Gupta,” and on the reverse Lakhsmi on the lotus throne.—Mr. Burstable exhibited three pennies of Æthelred II., struck respectively at Dover, Winchester, and Colchester; a penny of Cnut struck at Norwich; one of Harold I. at Shrewsbury; and a blundered coin, apparently of Harthacnut, struck at Leicester.—Mr. Montagu exhibited a half-crown, believed to be unique, of the Commonwealth, dated 1655, and two specimens of the shilling of 1657.—Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited large silver pieces of Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma, 1622—1646, and of Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, 1658—1705, having on the reverse a bust of the Sultan Mahomet IV., and the legend MAHOMET IV. VICTVS TVRC. CAES.; also a gold noble of Philip II. or III., Count of Flanders, and a Japanese gold coin imitated from a Chinese coin of the Ming dynasty, cast in the beginning of the last century.—Mr. B. V. Head read an abstract of a paper by M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, “On the Coinage of the Satrap Mazaios.”

**Philological.**—April 4th.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the chair.—Mr. A. J. Ellis read a paper “On the Insular Scotch Lowland Dialect and the Border Mid-Northern Dialect of the Isle of Man.” The former embraced Orkney and Shetland; the latter was from careful studies made from natives

by Mr. T. Hallam, of Manchester. The two dialects are analogous in their treatment of *th* in "thin" as simple *t*.

**Society of Antiquaries.**—April 23rd.—Anniversary Meeting.—The President delivered his annual address, and laid before the Society a communication which the secretary had received from Sir E. Fry, in which the learned judge invited the attention of the Society to the impending legislation for the compulsory enfranchisement of copyholds, and expressed a hope that they might devise some means to prevent the destruction of court rolls which might ensue for want of their being placed in proper custody.—Mr. C. J. Elton addressed the meeting on the importance of Sir E. Fry's suggestions, and moved a resolution, which was seconded by Dr. C. S. Perceval, urging the Council to take such action in the matter as they might deem advisable.

**Asiatic.**—April 21st.—Sir F. Goldsmid in the chair.—Mr. F. V. Dickins read extracts from a translation of the roll of Shiuken Doji, a famous Japanese outlaw of the tenth century. The roll, which was exhibited, consisted of six "makimono," or scrolls, and was finely calligraphed and illuminated, the principal scenes of the somewhat gruesome story being brilliantly depicted. The story, which was a version of one of the chief exploits of the traditional hero Yorimitsu, or Raiko, presented the usual features of such tales, whether told in the Far East or in the West.

**Camden Society.**—The Annual Meeting.—May 2nd.—The Earl of Verulam in the chair.—The books promised to the members for the year 1884-85 are: 1, "Papers relating to Issue of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI," edited by the Rev. N. Pocock; 2, "Political Memoranda of the fifth Duke of Leeds, 1774," etc., edited by Mr. Oscar Browning; 3, "Selections from the Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii. edited by Mr. Osmund Airy. Among the works added to the list of those in preparation is an account of the war in Ireland after the rebellion in 1642, from the pen of Col. Plunket, a Catholic officer serving under the Marquis Ormond, which will be edited by Miss Mary Hickson.

#### PROVINCIAL.

**Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.**—April 14th.—Dr. Arthur Mitchell, V.-P., in the chair.—The first paper was "An Investigation of the System of Land Valuation in the Orkney and Shetland Isles," by Capt. F. W. L. Thomas. The whole subject of early land valuation is involved in almost impenetrable obscurity. The special task which Capt. Thomas had before him was to deduce from existing materials the answer to the question, What is a pennyland? This term is of frequent occurrence in connection with the ancient land valuation of the Hebrides; and, as the Hebrides were under Norse dominion till 1266, it appeared probable that a solution of the question would be best found by an examination of the land system of the Northern isles. The Orkneys continued to be part of the Norwegian kingdom till 1468; and even then, being merely pledged to James III., they were still ruled by their own laws, which, as regards land tenure, were almost the opposite of those of Scotland. The materials for the investigation are chiefly

contained in the rental of the earldom of Orkney, 1497-1503, or within twenty-nine years of the separation from Norway, which is still preserved. In the fifteenth century the land of the Orkneys was, in respect of property, either Earl's (subsequently King's) land, Kirk land, or Odal land. The first two terms required no explanation. The Odal men, who owned land simply by descent, became in course of time so numerous that the constant subdivision of the odal-lands necessarily led to poverty and degradation; and the want of a middle class left them still less able to resist the rapacity of the Scottish earls and feuars, and the donatories of the Crown. In respect of taxation (or skat) for support of the Earl's Government, the lands of Orkney were either Bordland, Skatland, Quoyland, or Townale. Bordland, being the property of the Earl, paid no skat. Skatland, otherwise called odal-land, included all the arable land of the townships which existed when the ancient or original valuation roll was made. Quoyland, from being subsequently enclosed, as a rule paid no skat. Though the arable land was frequently re-partitioned among the tenants, the house remained in constant possession of the household, and a small piece of pasture land around it was the townale or tumail. As the demand for arable land increased, the townale was dug up or ploughed up. No skat was paid for moorland or "fell." It was considered of so little importance that it is not once named in the rental. Wherever lands are taxed, there must be a valuation of some kind—in old records called "extent"; and for this purpose the Orkneys had at an early period been divided into parts which came to be denominated "urislands" or "ouncelands," but which there is reason to believe originally were the *davach* of the former Celtic inhabitants. The meaning of "ouncelands" was that each paid to the Earl money or produce to the value of one ounce of silver. The "ounceland" was divided into eighteen parts, each of which had to pay one penny, or the value of one penny, and hence was called a "pennyland." The demonstration of this by a detailed analysis of the rental, along with separate demonstrations of the same nature for the different denominations of land and land values in Shetland, formed the substance of the paper. The general conclusions arrived at were that the *davach* of the old Celtic inhabitants, being assessed by the Norwegian earls at an ounce of silver, became an "ounceland," and was divided into eighteen parts, each paying an eighteenth of a Norse ounce of silver, which was equal in weight to an English penny, from which each subdivision was termed a "pennyland." Neither ounce nor pennyland was a measure of surface, but of produce. The ratio of produce must in time have altered, but nominally the tax was not increased. At some period, of which there is no record, but probably in the twelfth century, the pennylands were valued at their purchase, not their annual value, in sterling silver marks,—each part so valued being called a "Markland,"—at which time the average value of a pennyland was four sterling marks. In the Orkneys, in 1503, the rent of a markland was so nearly uniform as to suggest that the rate of rent had been fixed at a comparatively recent period. In Shetland the assessment by ounces and pennies was abandoned, and that by marks was substituted. The annual rent of a mark-

land was fixed in pennies, and varied from four to twelve pennies, which were paid in fixed proportions of butter and cloth.

**York Architectural Association.** — Mr. Wm. Hepper, hon. treasurer, delivered a lecture on "Vaulting." The lecturer commenced by giving a slight historical sketch of vaulting from the time of the Romans to the period when its greatest development was reached in the fan vaulting of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, and similar erections. He then explained the difference between Roman and mediæval vaulting, and traced the rise and progress of English and French vaulting, explaining the difference between hexapartite and quadripartite, stellar, and fan vaulting. He showed how the pendants of such vaults as seen in the Lady Chapel at Caudebec, Normandy, and in English fan vaulting, which are the cause of so much admiration to visitors, are supported. He next showed the principles upon which early mediæval vaults were constructed, and the terms used for the various parts.

**Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.** — April 1st.—Mr. F. E. Watson in the chair.—The Rev. C. R. Manning read a paper on "Norwich Church Plate." Of plate older than the Reformation there is none at all. The advertisements of Queen Elizabeth and the injunctions of Mr. Parkhurst made a complete clearance of old plate, and not a single specimen remains in Norwich. Of the Norwich Goldsmiths' Company, and the names of goldsmiths from the time of Edward III., it may be remembered that their hall and workshops stood in "Smethy Lane," now Little London Street, and that the fine doorway formerly in London Street, and now re-erected in the south side of the Guildhall, came from the house of an eminent goldsmith of the fifteenth century, with the initials J. B., the goldsmiths' arms, and the city and Royal Arms. No doubt in the times before the Reformation there was an abundance of eucharistic vessels here such as we should now prize as most precious examples of ancient art. Every cathedral and convent and church then possessed them; but the needs and the greed of kings and courtiers and violent party zeal have deprived us of them, and it is only in a few colleges and corporations and a very limited number of parishes that any are extant. But it might at least have been expected that at the principal church in Norwich some of the finer specimens of the skill of the Elizabethan goldsmith, Peter Peterson, would have survived. Whatever the Cathedral may have possessed in the times immediately succeeding the Reformation, and after Bishop Parkhurst enjoined the substitution of "decent communion cups," instead of "massive chalices," all has now disappeared, and there is not a single piece of Norwich manufacture belonging to it. It seems, however, that there was not much at that time to lose. Blomefield records that in the time of Dean Gardiner (1573—1589), on a Commission of Inquiry concerning the affairs of the church, "Thomas Hughson, formerly sacrist, swore that in the first year of King Edward VI. there was plate in the Cathedral of above 592 ounces weight, but that the next year it was reduced to 271 ounces, and that in this dean's time there was no more than one communion cup, double gilt, weighing 19 oz." This was no doubt the cup pro-

vided by the Dean and Chapter in 1567, the year in which a very large proportion of the churches in the diocese were supplied with "cups" in accordance with the injunctions of Archbishop Parker, and through the zeal of Bishop Parkhurst, of Norwich. Dr. Bensly has been good enough to furnish an extract from the Diocesan Registry, where in the compotus of Robert Stanton, canon in 1567, is the entry of the purchase of a new communion cup for £3 4s. 4d. Some additions of importance appear to have been provided afterwards, for Blomefield says again that "by the time of the Rebellion the plate became handsome enough to be seized by the rebels, headed by such of the principal citizens as were then in power; for which abuse and spoil, after the Restoration, the city gave £100, with which the fine large offering dish, a pair of silver candlesticks, all double gilt, were purchased" (iv. 32). The earliest piece now belonging to the Cathedral is a large gilt paten, with a foot 13 inches in diameter. It has the date letter of the year 1660-1, and bears the arms of De Grey, of Merton, within a frame of scrollwork, and an inscription showing it to have been the gift of Dame Anna de Grey, of Antingham. This was probably Anne, widow of Sir William de Grey, of Merton, and daughter of Sir James Calthorp. She died in 1662, and was buried at Merton. There was property at Antingham belonging to the Calthorp family. Another piece of nearly the same date is the alms dish, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, with a large cross pattée in relief in the centre. This is of the year 1665-6, and was the gift of the city in the Mayoralty of Matthew Markham. At the same time were given by the city the fine pair of candlesticks, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, now used on the altar. They have the same inscription and marks as the alms dish. There is a set of plate belonging to the chapel of the Bishop's Palace, which is of some interest. This chapel, which, as is well-known, stands in the palace grounds, was rebuilt by Bishop Reynolds in 1662. The plate was also presented by him, and is of Norwich make. The chalice, flagon, and alms dish all bear the arms of the see, impaling those of Reynolds, within a frame of feather-shaped decoration, and the paten, which is the cover to the chalice, has a mitre on the foot. There is no date letter among the marks, but there are three Norwich marks—the old castle and lion in shape, a crown in shape, and a rose-sprig in separate shape. The maker's mark is the letters A.H. conjoined, within a circle. There is also kept at the palace a silver mace for carrying before the bishop. It is 3 ft. 6 in. in length. The head is not cup-shaped, like Corporation maces, but has an oval shield, with the arms of the see surmounted by a tall mitre. The stem is banded, and the lower cord is pointed. There are no marks. Its date is, probably, shortly after the Restoration of 1662. It may be interesting to mention that fifty-two pieces are of Norwich manufacture. Thirty-four of these are of the Elizabethan period, all of them being within the same four years of her reign, from 1564 to 1568. The oldest Norwich pieces are the chalice and paten at St. Saviour's Church, of the year 1564-5, letter A. Of the following year, with date letter B, there are six pieces

viz., the chalices at St. Augustine's, St. Edmund's, St. John Timberhill, St. Lawrence, St. Peter-per-Mountergate, and St. Swithin. It is curious that no patens are of that year. Of the next year, with date letter C, 1566-7, there are eighteen pieces, viz., chalices and patens at St. Clement's, St. James's, St. John Maddermarket, St. Margaret, St. Martin-at-Oak, St. Michael-in-Coslany, and St. Peter Mancroft; besides single pieces, viz., the paten at St. Edmund's and St. John's Timberhill, and the chalices at St. Helen's and St. Paul's. Of the remaining Elizabethan year 1567-8, with date letter D, there are eight pieces, viz., chalices and patens at St. Andrews, St. Martin-at-Palace, St. Mary-in-Coslany, and St. Stephen's. Of the maker's marks on these thirty-four pieces twenty have the orb and cross of Peter Peterson; six have the trefoil slipped, two have a star or estoile, two a cross pattée (a mark not given in Mr. Cripps' Norwich list), two a fish (similar to the marks at Woodton and Winfarthing), one a head affrontée, and one a crowned head; one or two are defaced. All of these are exclusive of the chalice at All Saints, which is probably of Norwich manufacture, but has no marks. The other eighteen Norwich pieces range in date from C 1620 to 1697. The old Norwich mark, it is well known, was the castle and lion from the city arms. The standard mark of a seeded rose, or a rose sprig, and a crown, appears in the time of Charles I., and was continued through the century. The oldest pieces in which it occurs here are a paten belonging to St. Peter's Southgate, which is probably of the year 1627-8, and the flagon at St. Gregory's, dated 12th April, 1628. There are seven pieces which have a maker's mark which is not noticed by Mr. Cripps. He was Thomas Havers, of a good old family resident from the time of Elizabeth to the present century at Theilton Hall, near Scole, and whom Blomefeld mentions as a Norwich goldsmith. His pieces date from the paten at St. Peter's Hungate, probably 1675, to the paten at St. Augustine's, given by himself, as recorded in its inscription, in 1697. He also gave the alms basin to St. Michael-at-Plea in 1694. His mark is T.H. with a mullet. He married Grace, daughter of Henry Berney, of Antmere, and was Mayor of Norwich in 1708. He was buried with the arms of Havers impaling Berney in the south chapel of St. Michael-at-Plea in 1732, aged 86, his wife having died in 1718, aged 63. The flagons at St. Michael-at-Plea are also his work; and the patens at St. Peter-per-Mountergate and St. Paul's. Another mark unknown to Mr. Cripps is that of a Pegasus galloping, in a foliated square, which occurs on the flagon at St. Gregory's, dated 1627. There is one piece, the small chalice, of wine glass shape on stem, at St. Peter's Southgate, which has only two marks, and one of them is the arms of King's Lynn in a shield, the other being W and another letter, with a mullet below. The rest of the plate of the Norwich churches, comprising the great majority of pieces, is of London assay. It is remarkable how very uncouth is the lettering and spelling on the Elizabethan specimens. One would expect better things of Peter Peterson's workmen, although the churchwardens' accounts written

at that time are often equally illiterate. Together with the most beautiful work in the metal we have such inscriptions as that on the paten at St. Andrew's: "This | cupp | taynyngt | o s. Andres | prish, | 1508 |" "The . cuppe . pertenyng . to . saynt Geyles , S (and in smaller type) ospital . in Norwich . Ao. 1568." "Saynte | savers | Ao. 1568." On the latter plate there is every variety of inscription, in Greek, Latin, and English, and many appropriate terms of dedication and presentation. There are a few instances of the use of the word "consecratum" on plate; possibly meaning its consecration, a subject too extensive to enter upon now; but it may be remembered that a form for the consecration of eucharistic vessels was used by Archbishop Sanicroft and other bishops of his time, in accordance with ancient precedent. The chalice and paten and the flagon at St. Michael-at-Palace (1691), and the flagon at St. Andrew's (1704), are thus inscribed. But the words may be merely used in the sense of "dedicated."—Mr. F. Danby Palmer reported to the society on the steps which are being taken to restore the old Toll-house at Yarmouth, and read from proof-sheets of a pamphlet shortly to be published, some extracts relating to the history of that interesting building. An additional fact in the history of the hall has been elucidated by Mr. Palmer in the discovery of the banner and the "horn of silence," the one borne and the other sounded before the Barons of the Cinque Ports on their visit to Yarmouth during the holding of the Free Fair, when they had magisterial jurisdiction in the borough. The banner, which is emblazoned with the arms of the five ports, and the horn are in the possession of the Corporation of Romney. This peculiar jurisdiction of the Barons of the Cinque Ports in Yarmouth gave rise to disputes between them and the bailiffs of the borough, who frequently asserted their claims to precedence.—Mr. J. Stanley exhibited to the members a handsome silver-headed mace. The head is surmounted with an elaborate and spirited representation in silver of St. George encountering the dragon. This beautiful work is mounted upon a silver pedestal, the under part of which is figured with the same pattern that appears on the corresponding part of the silver castle mace borne before the Mayor and Sheriff of Norwich on state occasions. On the mace are two Latin inscriptions, one dated 1705, recording that it was the gift of the Honourable Company or Guild of St. George, in Norwich; and the other dated 1786, setting forth that Robert Partridge, Mayor, prays that all things may happen well and happily to or for the welfare and happiness of the Municipality of Norwich. Mr. Stanley explained that this mace had been for many years in the possession of the Corporation without its original use being recognised. It was no doubt borne before the Wardens or Masters of the Guild of St. George. It was owing to the company getting into difficulties that all its maces and paraphernalia were assigned to the Corporation in consideration of their liquidating its debts. Apparently the Corporation authorities considered this mace too handsome for ordinary use, so it was converted into the stem of a candelabrum, and some old citizens remembered its appearance

on the Mayor's table in that form on festive occasions before the days of gas and lamps. For many years it had been stowed away with other articles which had been regarded as of no value, but which, on examination, would be found to have a special interest not only for members of this society, but for the citizens generally. He had caused a handsome handle to be made for the mace,—by Mr. Howard, carver,—designed on the pattern of the key of Temple Bar, as the mace was of the same date, 1690. The silver of the mace weighs 43 ozs. 5 dwts. In the records of the Corporation Mr. Stanley stated that there are many curious books and manuscripts which are worthy of the attention of the members of the society, and he strongly urged that attention should be paid to these long-neglected treasures. Owing to insufficient care having been taken of these things in the past, many valuable relics and records had been lost.

**Edinburgh Architectural Association.**—March 22nd.—A party of about seventy members visited Prestonfield House, Craigmellar Castle, and Peffermill. Conducted by Mr. Thomas Ross, the party first visited Prestonfield House, where they were much interested in the "heather room," and the old drawing-room, which has a quaintly grotesque ceiling, and contains a recess behind the wainscoting, in which Prince Charles is said to have concealed himself. Several letters of a private nature were read by permission, and from these an interesting record was obtained of the details and construction of the present building—its predecessor having been maliciously destroyed by fire on 11th January, 1681, when its then owner (Sir James Dick,) was from home. The members subsequently made an inspection of Peffermill House, which is three storeys in height, with attics, and is on the L plan, with a circular staircase at the re-entering angle. The building is long, high, and narrow, each room extending the full width of the house, and all entering through each other. The kitchen is on the ground floor, and, along with the room adjoining, is arched. A door alongside the fireplace admits to a small chamber behind it in the thickness of the wall. Possibly this is an alteration, and the whole space may have formed the original fireplace. The house was built by one Edgar, probably Edward Edgar, in 1636, as the date on one of the dormers indicates; and at that time, and for about a century before, the lands of Peffermyle, in the barony of Craigmellar, belonged to the Edgars, an offshoot of the Edgars of Wedderlie in Berwickshire. Accordingly the arms of that family are carved over the beautiful entrance doorway. The party afterwards proceeded to Craigmellar Castle. The castle consists of an old Scottish keep of style to be found all through the country, and to which extensive additions have been made at later times, until the whole has grown to be one of the large sized castles of Scotland. The keep stands on the edge of a cliff about twenty feet high, and is so near the edge that there is scanty room left for access to the door, while at some parts a foothold on the top of the rock is all that can be obtained. Immediately in front of the door a cutting made in the rock almost severs the path, and before the additions to the castle changed the aspect of affairs at this point, this cutting must have made the castle almost impregnable. The doorway, which looks to the west, is round-headed,

and surmounted by the Preston arms. It gives access to a small entrance hall, from which two doors diverge—that on the left leading to the ground floor, and the one in front to the staircase. By the former you enter a small chamber in the thickness of the wall, from which you pass into the large chamber on the ground floor. This is vaulted, 17 feet 6 inches high, with an intermediate floor of wood. The under floor was divided by a partition wall into two apartments. The staircase leading to the great hall is on the corkscrew plan, and after going up for a couple of revolutions, or about 10 feet, it comes to a stop, and one is shunted to the right, on to another staircase, on which the ascent is continued. At the shunting point a door overlooks the entrance hall, and the shifting of the staircase to the side may have been done to give more room to men defending the castle in the event of the outer door being forced. The great hall is a noble apartment, 35 ft. long by 20 ft. 9 in. wide, and 24 ft. 6 in. high to the apex of its pointed roof. The walls, which are of an average thickness of 9 ft., are pierced by windows on the north, south, and east, all provided with stone seats. The fireplace is a fine specimen of its kind, and is quite entire. The hall has been divided into two storeys, and the stone corbels for supporting the beams are painted. There is a small arched room of the hall known as Queen Mary's room. As usual, the stair leading to the top is not in continuation of the lower one, but is on the opposite side of the door and passage leading into the great hall. Ascending this stair, a door leads off to the floor over the hall, and another to an entresol room over Queen Mary's room. This is a very beautiful apartment, and adjoining it is a most complete garderobe. The main roof, almost entire, is very flat, and covered with overlapping stones, the under stone being wrought with a groove along the sides of its upper surface. Two rows thus wrought were laid in their sloping position, with a space between for the overlapping stones, which extended over the grooves, the object being that rain blown in beneath the edges of the overlapping row would be caught in the groove, and thus run down to the carefully-formed gutter. The roof was doubtless constructed flat for the convenience of working military engines. The total height of the keep from the top of the rock is about 70 feet. The additions made at various times consisted first of a great curtain wall, of which the keep itself forms a part on the south, having angle towers, and enclosing a courtyard averaging 122 feet by 80 feet. Later, and at various times, within this courtyard buildings have been added against the curtain walls of the east, west, and south sides, having the entrance through the north curtain. Beyond this, on the east, west, and north, are other walls, strong and high, enclosing a space of about 1½ acres within the castle bounds; and within this space, again, various offices were built at different times. The curtain walls are about 28 feet high to the top of the parapet, and 5 feet thick. Inside the entrance doorway on either hand is an arched recess about 9 feet above the ground, each having a spy window and stone seat for a sentinel. The east range of buildings is three storeys high, with a gloomy sunk floor at the south end, all vaulted except the upper floor. The beautiful entrance doorway in connection with this range superseded the old doorway to the keep, and in connection

with it a wide turnpike led up to the great hall and the upper floors of the new wing. At the side of the new door, and in the thickness of the wall, a separate stair leads up to the kitchen, which has a large arched fireplace, stone sink with drain, and service window into the corridor leading to the great hall. From the floor above the kitchen, through the south-east tower, the east and north battlements are reached. These are supported on bold corbels with intervals between, through which stones could be thrown on an enemy approaching the base of the walls. In the centre of the south-east tower is a raised platform, reached by steps, from which shooters could send arrows over the heads of those defending the battlements. When the west wing came to be added, the west curtain was nearly all taken down and rebuilt, as it is seen now, with windows and chimneys, and without the machicolations. This was the latest addition made to the castle. It is two storeys high, with vaults at the south end. The rooms are large and handsome, entering through each other, as was the style of the seventeenth century. This was evidently the family side, with its separate entrance from the courtyard, now kitchen, dining-room, and private bedrooms. The dining-room has a beautiful fireplace, once lined with Dutch tiles, and a window with mullion and transom. From the bowling-green immediately outside this range of buildings a flight of steps led down to the gardens at the lower level, where the bed of the fish pond can still be seen. Between the east curtain and the outside wall is a small roofless chapel, measuring within the walls 30 feet by 14 feet 9 inches. Except that the gables have crow steps, the chapel is very much in the style of the late Perpendicular work of England. The large ivy-covered building at the west end was a Protestant Presbyterian meeting-house, erected upon the indulgence granted by James VII. It was probably one of the barns or offices of the castle, and turned to this purpose. All writers on Craigmellar refer to the arms of the Cockburns, Congaltons, Mowbrays, and Otterburns, as adorning the walls of the castle. None of these are there now; nor any other arms except the Royal arms, which surmount the Preston arms over the entrance, and again over a door leading out to the south battlements, and the Preston arms, which occur four times. Craigmellar came into the possession of the Prestons in 1374, and remained their property for almost 300 years. As is evident from its style, the keep was built about the early part of the fifteenth century, and the curtain walls shortly after. In 1543 it was taken by Hertford and much demolished; and probably the buildings inside the east curtain wall were built shortly after that time, and perhaps part of the west wing also, although it was undoubtedly altered and enlarged in the seventeenth century by the Gilmours, who became possessed of the castle about that time. The chapel is of fifteenth century work, and the outer walls were probably built after the English invasion.

March 26th.—The President, Mr. M'Gibbon, occupied the chair.—Mr. R. Rewand Anderson gave the second of his two lectures on "The Renaissance Architecture of Italy." In the first lecture Mr. Anderson had traced the Renaissance art from its origin to its development and practice in Italy. The lecturer now entered into the details of various buildings of the period, and pointed out that when the Renaissance

art was cultivated there was no departure from the true essentials of good old art, but that it was influenced, moulded by, and actually based upon, the Gothic art, which it was gradually displacing. For example, in Tuscany the buildings of the early Renaissance are clearly and unmistakably buildings of a mediæval type, clothed with classic detail. In Lombardy and Venice the palaces and public buildings are only entitled to be spoken of as classic by reason of their details and ornamentation; and when Rome is reached it can be seen that the early buildings of the Renaissance period are to a greater extent based on Roman and not on mediæval buildings, because as far as we are aware mediæval buildings were few in comparison with the number of Roman ones.

April 5th.—The members visited Baberton House, Colington House, and Bonally Tower. Baberton House was built, according to tradition, as a hunting lodge for James VI.; it was said to have been gifted by that monarch to James Brand, with whose descendants it remained till about 1786. In the early part of the present century a family of the name of Inglis was recorded as owning the mansion, which, after having been possessed by the Christies, now belonged to Sir James Gibson Craig, of Riccarton. Though less ornate, the details of Baberton House bore a strong similarity to Heriot's Hospital, Winton House, Glasgow College, and Argyll's House, Stirling; and, all things considered, it seemed reasonable to assume that an architect from England, instructed by James VI., furnished the design. There was little noticeable in the treatment of the various apartments—a conspicuous exception, however, being a room at the north-east angle, whose ceiling was beautifully decorated with geometric plaster panelling, and which bore the name of King Charles's room, from having been occupied by Charles X. after his expulsion from France. The party set off for Colington House. The company first examined the ruins of Foulis Castle, within the grounds. The family longest associated with the barony of Colington (originally called Hailes) was that of Foulis, who, in 1531, acquired it from the Cunninghams of Kilmairs. The date of the ruin was assumed at 1450, and it was supposed to have been erected by the Cunninghams. The present mansion-house of Colington was built in the beginning of the present century by Sir William Forbes, and, classic in style, expressed the refinement of detail which characterized designs of the same period. One of the apartments, however, styled the Gothic room, bore token of the degradation to which the art of Gothic had then fallen. The library contained some very fine examples of Gibbons' art in carved wood; and among the objects of interest in the interior was the chair used by Speaker Abercromby at the coronation of Her Majesty.

**Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.**—April 30th.—Ald. Cail in the chair.—It was resolved that the society join the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in an excursion to Cornhill, Ford, and Flodden about May 28th; and that at the end of June or beginning of July an excursion be held at Thirlwell Castle and district.—A paper, by Mr. James Clephan, on "John Widdrington of the old Bank, Newcastle, and Carlyle of Inveresk," was read.—"Remarks upon Groups of Roman Milestones," by Mr. Thompson Watkin, Liverpool, was next read.—The Rev. Dr. Hooppell gave a

"Further Account of Traces of a Roman Bridge at Hylton."

**Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.**—Annual meeting, May 7th.—Dr. Eddison, President of the society, occupied the chair.—The Hon. Secretary (Mr. R. Reynolds) read the report of the Council on the work of the sixty-fourth session. The objects of interest on exhibition comprised a collection of caricatures. The most important accession to the museum made during the past year consists of a large and singularly perfect megalichthys. It is well known that Agassiz, having previously studied the fossil remains collected by Dr. Hibbert, at Burdiehouse, visited Leeds in 1834, and found in our museum a magnificent skull with scales similar to those of one of Dr. Hibbert's forms (the other was subsequently described by Owen under the name of *rhizodus*). This skull was described and figured in the *Poissons Fossiles* (vol. ii., p. 87, pls. 63, 63a, and 69), and taken by Agassiz as the type of his genus *megalichthys*. Since that time various specimens have helped to elucidate the structure of this carboniferous ganoid, but many points—more, indeed, than any one suspected—remained doubtful or unknown. It was therefore with much satisfaction that the curator received notice in September last of the discovery of a fine example of megalichthys at Idle, near Leeds. The fossil was found at Mr. F. B. Ellison's colliery, in the roof of the Halifax Hard Bed. It was extracted with great care and success by the pit-manager, Mr. Andrew Oldroyd. The fossil was generously presented to the museum by Mr. Ellison. It shows the whole ventral surface, from the tip of the snout to the root of the tail. The under-surface of the head, the pectoral, ventral, and anal fins, besides a remarkable and unsuspected arrangement of pelvic scales, are conspicuous, and little disturbed. The total length is 3 ft. 8½ in. The family of the late Mr. J. O. Butler, of Kirkstall, have presented a large collection of relics from the Abbey, including many glazed tiles, small objects in metal, and other antiques. The collection illustrates many details of domestic life in old times, and will be carefully preserved as peculiarly appropriate to a Leeds museum. Among other donations enumerated in the full list appended to this report, we have specially to notice casts of ancient stone carvings from Rothwell Church, presented by Mr. John Batty, and a large number of fossils from the lower oolite, presented by Mr. W. C. Lucy, of Brookthorpe, Gloucester. During the year the Archeological and Industrial Museums have been thoroughly cleaned and in part rearranged.

**Belvedere and Erith Natural History and Scientific Society.**—April 17th.—The Rev. T. W. Handy, Vicar of Erith, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. Harris exhibited a curious old weapon of iron, in shape somewhat like a bill, or halberd, which had recently been found in digging for the foundations of a new house in Lime Wood, Erith. The implement, which was very much rusted and decayed, was found at a depth of four feet from the surface, two feet of the soil being peat or decayed fern and leafy matter.—Dr. Greenway exhibited bones of animals, mammoth, etc., lately discovered in making excavations at East Wickham.—Mr. R. W. Cradock exhibited a drawing of an old oak mantelpiece (probably Elizabethan)

from one of the bedrooms in the old Farm House, Heron Hill, Belvedere.

**Russian Archæological Society.**—April 11th.—M. Krestovsky read a report on excavations he has been conducting near Samarcand. The scene of his operations is a mound which covers the remains of a decayed city, the walls and fortifications of which have now been partially exposed to view. Ruins of dwellings and articles of domestic use as well as human skeletons have also been found. M. Krestovsky identifies this site with a city named Afrosiad, mentioned in Turanian and Arabic sources of history as the capital of an extensive realm, and referred to an antiquity almost as high as the time of Moses. Popular traditions which still linger round the spot preserve a reminiscence of its former power, of a superb palace, and of subterranean passages, at the ends of which are still concealed the hoards amassed by its rulers in bygone days. No ruins of an extensive edifice have, however, yet been discovered, but the clearance already effected has laid bare masonry of very ancient date. In the hillock under which these ruins have been so long buried, strata of friable mould, in which domestic utensils and traces of human occupants are found, alternate with layers of dense clay containing only vegetable *dbris* and evidently an alluvial deposit. From these alternate strata successive periods of human occupancy and watery devastation must be inferred. The objects found, beginning with those in the deepest strata, which contain very rude stone and clay utensils, display a gradual advance in culture. It is remarkable that elegant glass articles are found at a great depth, while they disappear near the surface, evidencing a very early knowledge of the material and its subsequent disuse.



## The Antiquary's Note-Book.

**Discoveries in America.**—*Translated from a Berlin Paper.*—Professor Norris, Assistant of the North American Ethnologist, has been carrying on excavations, ever since August 1883, in the valley of Kanawha, in West Virginia, among the remains of a long extinct civilization. Up to this time, he has discovered the ruins of an old town, which must have had an elongation of five miles. They found under the former dwellings grave chambers, of which, up to this time, fifty-six have been opened. The seven largest measure from the ground to the ceiling 35 feet, and have a circumference of 540 feet. More than four thousand articles—weapons, cooking utensils, ornaments, or trinkets, etc., have been found, and deposited in the National Museum at Washington. A great part of these articles are of copper, and though thickly covered with verdigris, is, doubtless, according to its component parts, taken from the copper mines of Lake Superior. In contradistinction to all former finds, which have repeatedly been described, the following must be mentioned. In the floor of one of these grave chambers, which is 35 feet high and 545

feet in circumference, there is a masoned excavation, 12 feet square and 10 feet deep; the walls are lined with walnut boards 12 inches thick. In the middle of this trough a skeleton was found of a giant 7 feet 6 inches long, and measuring from shoulder to shoulder, across the breast, 19 inches. On the fore-arm, from the wrist upwards, it had six copper bracelets, and fastened to them were small pieces of buff, in which it was not distinguishable, on account of the rottenness, whether they consisted of animal skin or of the fibre of plants. Under the hands were found points of lances, or spears of flint, and on the chest there was a tablet of copper, four inches square, with a hole at the two upper corners, evidently to admit a cord, by which it was worn round the neck. Under the thick crust of verdigris could be observed certain marks, to the deciphering of which we have no clue. Similar plates were found on several skeletons, and under the circumstances the conclusion is legitimate that they were badges of distinction belonging to the chiefs. At a depth of 30 feet, a sort of hall was discovered, of 300 feet in height and 30 feet in circumference, in a layer of very hard stone, which could only have been excavated with chisel and hammer. In the middle of this hall lay a skeleton on its back; on the chest there rested a copper tablet similar to those described above. All round laid all manner of carefully wrought weapons. To the right of this skeleton there lay six male, and to the left six female skeletons, their breasts crushed in by very heavy chiselled square stones, with their feet turned to the big centre skeleton, whose left shoulder rested on plates of specular stone. To the right and left of each of the twelve skeletons there were masoned and cemented cisterns of about four feet deep, in each of which there was still more or less clear cold water. The intention of those cisterns will probably remain a mystery for ever. In the layer of rock which forms the surrounding of this mound, there is not anywhere a trace of a water-course; from below no water could get into these cisterns, as in consequence of the cement they were still quite watertight. How then did the water get into the cisterns? Were they filled when those chiefs were buried with their wives and slaves, and were the graves then closed? Were the men and women which surrounded the skeleton of the chief buried alive, and the water perhaps intended to prolong the sufferings of those victims fastened down by those heavy blocks of rock, and thereby to enhance the felicity of the chief in another world? These questions will probably never be solved with certainty. Finally, it is interesting that in some of the mounds urns were found, containing ashes by the side of the skeletons.—[This translation was made by the Rev. R. Bellson, and communicated by Sir Henry Dryden.]

**The First Institution of the Royal Academy of Arts.**—As the connection of Hone with the Royal Academy is mentioned *ante*, p. 247, it may be useful to give a list of the first officers of this celebrated institution. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1768, pp. 602-3, contains a short account of the origin of the Academy, and the following list of names of President and Council:—Joshua Reynolds, *President*; William Chambers, *Treasurer*; George Mich. Moses, *Keeper*; Francis Mil. Newton, *Secretary*. *Professor of Painting*, Edward Penny; *Professor of Architecture*

T. Sandby; *Professor of Anatomy*, Dr. W. Hunter; *Professor of Perspective*, Sam. Wale. *Council*: George Barret, Wm. Chambers, Francis Cotes, Nathaniel Hone, Jeremiah Meyer, Edward Penny, Paul Sandby, Joseph Wilton. *Visitors*: Agostino Carlini, Charles Catton, J. Bap. Cipriani, Nathaniel Dance, Francis Hayman, Peter Toms, Benjamin Wesh, Richard Wilson, Franc. Zuccarelli.

**Survival of the Scandinavian Thing in Yorkshire.**—At a meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, 26th March, 1884, Mr. C. C. Hodges mentioned an instance of the survival of this term which had just occurred to him. In the south of Yorkshire was an ancient village called Laughton-en-le-Morthen. "Morthen" was a corruption of "moor thing" (the assembly on the moor). The village stood on a rather elevated point in a plain; it contained a fine church, which possessed considerable remains of Saxon work; and immediately to the west of this church was a conical mound, similar to those at Bishoppton and in Ryton churchyard, on which it was supposed the "thing" was held.



### Antiquarian News.

Reports from Luxor state that the cleaning of the temple is already far advanced. Twenty-seven houses have been pulled down, and a columned hall laid nearly free. M. Maspero has found in Menstril an important Greek inscription, a papyrus containing a passage from the history of the Apostles in the Theban dialect, and a number of monumental pillars important to the history of architecture. Three new necropoli have also been found, and in them nearly 300 mummies, together with various objects, such as feathered arrows, Egyptian and Coptic ivory carvings, etc.

Among the inscriptions brought home by Mr. Rassam from his explorations at Abco Hubba, is one of peculiar interest, which has formed the subject of a translation by Messrs. Pinches and Budge, of the British Museum. The inscription is engraved on a conical block of white marble, and is in almost perfect preservation. The front face of the stone is covered with a quaint and valuable series of daemonic and astrological emblems, such as figures of the serpent, crab, scorpion, bull, two-headed dog, and a remarkable compound figure of a scorpion sagittarius. The monument dates from the twelfth century before Christ, and is a grant of certain civic and viceregal rights to a man named Riti-Merodach, over the city of Bit-Karziyabku, by King Nebuchadnezzar I., who seems to have been a usurper, as his father's name does not appear in the inscription. Early in his reign a remarkable comet appeared, which, according to a tablet in the British Museum, is said to have had a tail like a scorpion. Upon this omen the king marched to obtain satisfaction for certain border forays on the Kings of Elam and South Kurdistan. It is thought that the curious figure above referred to—the scorpion sagittarius, which is placed as if marching before the

king—is intended for a representation of this comet. The expedition suffered greatly from want of water, and met apparently with a serious reverse in a battle fought on the banks of the Ulai, the modern Disful. The army was saved from total defeat by the assistance of Riti-Merodach, who burned his city and destroyed the bridges so as to hinder the advance of the enemy. In return for this timely succour the Babylonian king made his friend ruler of the district, free from all taxes of tribute. This inscription is the largest historical document of ancient Babylonia which has been recovered, and its importance even in ancient times is curiously proved by the fact that there was obtained from Nineveh a small fragment of a duplicate copy of the inscription made by order of King Assurbanipal 500 years after the original document was written.

An Italian has been for some time engaged at Aleppo in forming a collection of gems of great archaeological interest, inasmuch as, though small, it contains many unique specimens, and will form a valuable illustration of the difference between early Greek art and the art of a corresponding period in Asia Minor. The collection consists of a series of about eighty engraved cylinder seals of the same character as those already familiar to us as the results of explorations in Assyria, but it is particularly valuable as revealing not so much the art of Babylonian as the mixed style of Hittites or pre-Hellenic tribes of Asia Minor. The most important of these seals are engraved with scenes connected with the worship of the Asiatic mother-goddess—the Atargatis of the Syrians, and the Diana of the Ephesians.

In our April number we noticed the death of the well-known authority on church bells, Mr. Thomas North, F.S.A. We are glad to see that a new writer has appeared who aspires to fill the vacant place. Mr. J. C. L. Stachlschmidt, a past Master of the Founders' Company, of London, now comes forward with a book to be called *Surrey Bells and London Bell Founders*. He promises to give us therein, in addition to the usual systematic account of the bells in the county named, a most interesting chapter on the early bell founders of London from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

The parochial authorities of St. John the Baptist, Walbrook, have demanded that the fine specimen of Roman pavement lately discovered during the progress of the railway works in the parish may be handed over to them. The claim is based on a clause in the conveyance of the land to the railway company, whereby the churchwardens reserve the right to take for their own use "any antiquities or objects of special interest found during the progress of the excavations."

The restoration of the chancel and the erection of a new sacristy at the church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Chedzoy, near Bridgewater, is being proceeded with. The chancel is at present in an unsafe condition, the walls having bulged considerably, and portions will have to be entirely rebuilt. It possesses some very interesting thirteenth-century work, and is rich in Tudor and Jacobean woodwork, while the nave is full of most interesting carved fifteenth-century oak work. The rood screen exists, but has been very much

cut about and altered; it will, however, be restored and completed by the addition of a rood of suitable proportions.

Mr. J. Theodore Bent has returned to England from a visit of about six months to the Cyclades. During that time he explored almost every one of the islands, and has brought back a rich harvest of fresh matter, both archaeological and modern. He gave particular attention to the island of Antiparos, which has not been inhabited in recent times, but which he found to abound in prehistoric graves full of quaint little images.

The office of High Steward of Westminster, which has become vacant by the death of the Duke of Buccleugh, is a singular relic of antiquity. The post has always been held by a nobleman, who is appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and holds office for life. His main function appears to be to appoint a deputy, who is confirmed by the dean and chapter, and one of the duties of the deputy is stated to have been to preside at the court leet, an institution which, as Blackstone remarked, had, even when he wrote, "been for a long time in a declining way."

While making the necessary excavations for laying down a hydrant in the Postgasse in Vienna short time ago, the workmen came on some traces of ancient work, which were laid bare with great care. They soon uncovered a Roman grave, constructed simply of tiles, in an excellent condition of preservation. It measured four feet square.

The sale of the Earl of Gosford's library has taken place by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson. The great feature of interest was the competition for the first volume of the celebrated Mazarin Bible, which, after a brisk contest, was knocked down to Mr. Toovey for £500, the bidding having begun at £20. This valuable book, which is only one volume of two, was thus described in the catalogue:—"Biblio Sacra Latina cum Prologo S. Hieronymi, Vol. I. (Gen.—Psalms) lith. Goth, in double columns, 42 lines to each, first initial illuminated, capitals and first page painted, contemporary monastic binding, with ten brass bosses, in oak case, very rare, folio sed Mogunt. J. Guttenburg, circa 1450. The first volume of the celebrated Mazarin Bible, the first book printed with metal types, a very fine, large, and sound copy."

Under the presidency of Professor Delius, of Hale, the twentieth annual meeting of the German Shakespeare Society was recently held at Weimar, when Dr. Thümmel, of Halle, read a paper on "The Mermaid Tavern and its Associations." Of the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*, or annual, 114 copies, involving an outlay of 41,000m., are issued, and the society numbers at present 203 members.

The sale of the Castellani Collection at Rome occupied twenty-one days. A vase found in the Santa Maria Church at Capua, and beautifully painted in various colours, fetched 1,000*l.*; and a Greek mirror from Corinth, with bronze frame and figures of Venus and Cupid, 154*l.*; a small statuette of an Etruscan warrior, little more than 4 in. in height, 141*l.*; and a Diana in terra-cotta, of a period little later than that of Pheidias, 280*l.* The terra-cottas which the late Signor Castellani had purchased in Asia Minor realized

the highest prices ever known ; a figure of Victory, holding a gilt crown and a bouquet of flowers, being sold for 248*l.*, and a Venus recumbent for 240*l.* The gold and silver ornaments were also sold for very high prices. The poignard in copper gilt which Mariette Pasha found encased in the mummy of the Egyptian king Amasis, and which was for some time the property of Prince Jérôme Napoleon, fetched 300*l.* ; a single earring, the fellow of which is the property of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of the oldest Greek style, 652*l.* ; an Etruscan bracelet, of parti-coloured glass, with a gold clasp, 160*l.* ; two rings engraved with the busts of a woman and a man, 374*l.* ; and a marble bust of an Amazon, attributed in the catalogue to the school of Polycletus, 1,080*l.* The sale of the Venice glass, the Italian and Oriental earthenware, the enamels, tapestries, Renaissance bronzes, etc., attracted many more people, and three glasses by Murano fetched 320*l.* apiece. A vase in Gubbio earthenware, attributed to Giorgio Andreoli, was sold for 600*l.* ; a cup of the same kind for 668*l.* ; a Pesaro bowl for 324*l.* ; another from Urbino for 180*l.* ; and a Caffagiolo cup for 242*l.* ; a dish in Persian earthenware made 240*l.* ; a replica upon a small scale of the famous fountain of Giovanni de Bologna, 292*l.* ; an eleventh-century bas-relief in ivory, representing Christ and one of the Apostles surrounded by angels, 172*l.* ; a powder-flask of the sixteenth century, 156*l.* ; a shrine made in the shape of a house, and decorated with Limoges enamels of the thirteenth century, 828*l.* ; and another larger one, by Raphael Grimaldi, 1,020*l.*, being purchased for the South Kensington Museum.

A fine Roman mosaic has recently been found, a few feet below the surface, on the property of the Frères Maristes in the department of Drôme. The pavement, which is in perfect preservation, measures 22 ft. by 11 ft. The central figures are Hercules and Hebe. Coming as this does close upon the great discovery at Nîmes, France may be congratulated on her richness in mosaics.

The old Shrewsbury School buildings are now undergoing repair, and in the house which was occupied by the second master a massive oak beam is to be seen at the side of one of the staircases. The exposed side of the beam is carved, and this carving consists of the conventional vine tendrils and bunches of grapes. In the centre is a date, and beneath this an inscription, the letters of which are very indistinct. A well-known local archæologist, after some patient labour, succeeded in deciphering it as follows :—

1589.

DOMVS ARCHI=  
—PÆDAGOGI.

This house was inhabited by Bishop Butler and his predecessors.

Messrs. Reinach and Babilon, on commencing the excavations now in process on the site of ancient Carthage, have found between the harbour and the citadel, at a depth of fifteen feet, whole series of wells, cisterns, and foundations, originally of the Punic period, but which have been altered and restored during the Roman age. At a depth of twenty-one feet the original ground was discovered, so that it would be necessary, in order to lay the whole of ancient Carthage

open, to remove on the average seven feet of earth over a superficies of many hundred hectometres, a quantity of material sufficient to partly fill up the Lake of Tunis, putting an end to the existing unhealthy conditions, and gaining land fit for cultivation. The excavations will be continued until the end of this month.

The Mayor of Stratford-on-Avon recently presided at the annual meeting of the trustees of Shakespeare's birthplace. The Rev. Canon Evans, of Solihull, was unanimously elected a life trustee in the room of the late John Payne Collier. Mr. G. F. Warner, of the manuscript department of the British Museum, was engaged to assist Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps and Dr. Ingleby in the work of calendarizing the Shakespearean documents in the poet's house. Mr. Richard Savage, of Stratford, was appointed librarian in succession to Mr. Bruce Tyndall, resigned. The trustees decided to open New Place Gardens, the site of the house in which the poet lived and died, free to the public during the summer months.

An old building in White Friars, Chester, is now in course of demolition, preparatory to building a college in the Elizabethan style. On clearing away the rubbish at the basement, at the depth of three feet a mediæval tiled floor some two yards square was found, and around it some worked stones. At the still lower depth of seven or eight feet the Roman level is reached, as shown by the fragment of Roman tiles and the customary Legionary marks, and also brass coins of Constantine and Constantius. The floor is evidently a fragment of the monastery of White Friars which once had a flourishing establishment on that spot. The pattern on the tiles would indicate a period about the end of the fourteenth century.

In preparation for the annual congress of the Royal Archæological Institute, to be held this year in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. W. Hilton Dyer Longstaffe, F.S.A., is writing a paper upon the history and antiquities of the town, which, it is expected, will expand into a goodly volume.

The authorities of the British Museum are selecting a series of books, MSS., prints, etc., relating to Wyclif, for exhibition in the Grenville Library, after the precedent of last year's Luther exhibition.

A stone celt was picked up by Mr. Plenty, sen., in one of his fields at Burghclere, evidently brought to the surface by the plough. It is a piece of flint four and a half inches in length, by two and a half in width, at its cutting end, and two inches at the opposite end, one and a half inch thick, bevelled off to the sides, and rudely chipped to an edge for cutting purposes. The cutting edge has evidently been broken by wear, or more probably, as suggested by Dr. Stevens, of Reading, it had been broken almost in half, and again sharpened and polished by its owner.

During last autumn Professor Euting, of Strasburg, made an archaeological tour through the interior of Arabia, whence he brought several valuable inscriptions, notably from Palmyra, the Tadmor of the Bible. Particularly remarkable was a Hebrew inscription which he deciphered on the ruins of a gate of an ancient synagogue in Palmyra. According to Professor Euting, the inscription cannot be of a later date than

273, the year of the destruction of Palmyra, if it is not still older.

Two vases of the most elegant form have been dug up in Hyde Close, Winchester. The vase, which we assume once ornamented the "toilette" table of some Romano-British lady, is a small vessel just over four inches high, with a circumference of nine inches in its graceful swell. It is of a fine lustrous red ware akin to Samian, and it has a narrow lipped neck with a handsome handle. It has no potter's mark on it, and its perfect condition and handsome design would even now make it a striking ornament in a modern collection of bric-à-brac. The second vase is a larger one, seven inches in height, of a reddish-grey ware, the narrow tapering and small neck being stained darker, as also its two handles. The shape is very fine, with a circumference of fifteen inches at its largest diameter, from which it slopes away to the narrow neck. The ornamentation is striking but simple, and is formed of an almost white clay laid on after the vase was made in what is called "slip." The decoration consists of two groups of four vertical lines, and two five-pointed stars formed by a combination of the forms known as St. Andrew's and a Greek cross. The spot where the vases were found lies between two Roman roads from the city, and close to it have been found by Mr. H. Wyeth, in building his brewery, many futile fragments, and Mr. Pointer, on the other side, has found also relics of the Roman occupation.

Mr. J. Horace Round delivered a lecture on "The Battle of Colchester (13th June, 1648)," at the Town Hall, Colchester, on the 7th May. Mr. Round explained that he had obtained access to certain original sources of information on the subject, which had never hitherto been available, and had thus been enabled to reconstruct the story of a virtually forgotten battle. The lecture, which excited great interest, was illustrated by specimens of the weapons used, lent by Mr. Round, M.P., and others.

A stalactite cavern was recently discovered near Cerdon, in the Ain Department (France). Some country people who ventured into it state that it extends about 300 metres underground, and that its height varies considerably.

Recent years have been unusually prolific in discoveries of the works and remains of the prehistoric inhabitants of England. An interesting discovery of the kind has lately been made in the valley of the Ancholme, near Brigg, in Lincolnshire. Some labourers who were excavating brick-earth came upon a "corduroy" road at a depth of some seven feet below the surface. Above the road is a stratum of six feet of clay, and upon the clay lies a layer of peat. It is known that this peat has occupied its present position for considerably more than a thousand years, a Roman road, which is still in good order, crossing it. The newly discovered track is formed of huge oaken beams, which are fastened into the glacial drift beneath by means of oaken pins; and it is believed by geologists who have visited the excavations, that these timbers were laid down at least ten thousand years ago. The track seems to be about a mile in length.

The explorations at Roche Abbey were commenced about two months ago, with a view of discovering

traces of the tomb of Matilda of York, Countess of Cambridge, who was buried in one of the side chapels, and whose tomb was surmounted by an alabaster slab and an effigy, but so far efforts in this direction have been unsuccessful. While on the north side of the chancel the workmen came upon an opening below the floor, and careful investigations revealed that it had evidently been a place of sepulture, but instead of the body having been laid in a coffin, it had been covered with clay, a material which does not abound in the neighbourhood. Around this had been formed an oblong square of bricks, and the whole had been covered by the flooring. It is believed that there has also been another tomb in the centre of the chancel, but it has been above the floor. Adjacent to a large slab there have been found leg and rib bones, and the presence, in close contiguity, of iron nails, would indicate that a coffin had been used in this case. The lettering upon two portions of monumental slabs which have been discovered have been deciphered to be "Miseratur Deus," and they are believed to have formed part of a boring round the design upon the tomb. Near to them were found other pieces of stone bearing portions of the figure of a monk attired in abbot's robes, and holding in his hand the abbot's staff. A large collection of fragments of mullions and tracery of the east window have been discovered, and it is hoped an effort will shortly be made to reform the stone-work of the window.



### Correspondence.

#### THE EARLIER LIFE OF THOMAS CROMWELL.

In his interesting paper on the above subject, Mr. Brownbill ignores the important researches of Mr. J. Phillips, of Putney. Mr. Phillips' first paper (*ANTIQUARY*, ii., p. 164) was founded on the published portion of the Wimbledon Court Rolls and on special local knowledge. Two years later he brought out, elsewhere, two parts of a paper, which it is greatly to be hoped he may complete, embodying the results of a careful search among the original MS. rolls. This search slightly modified some of his previous conclusions, and cast a flood of light on this hitherto most obscure subject. Mr. Brownbill suggests that the Walter Cromwell (*alias* Smith), of the published Rolls, "may very well have been an elder brother" of the great Thomas (*ante*, p. 76). But Mr. Phillips' researches fully confirm the accepted version, that he was his *father*. They also establish the important fact that Thomas Cromwell was similarly known by the *alias* of "Smythe" in his earlier years. Again, as to Cromwell's wife, Henry Wythes' expression, "my sister and your good bedfellow," would seem to imply not "that he had married a sister of Cromwell's" (*ante*, p. 129), but rather that Cromwell had married a sister of his (cf. *ANTIQUARY*, ii., 164-5). Thirdly, as to Richard Williams, *alias* Cromwell, Thomas Cromwell's alleged nephew, and Oliver Cromwell's direct ancestor. The received story is that he was a

son of Morgan Williams, by a sister (Katherine) of Thomas Cromwell. The importance of this link is so great, that we are justified in scrutinising it closely. But Mr. Brownbill contends that this accepted "statement is certainly wrong" (though Mr. Phillips' researches appear fully to confirm it), with no other ground for this confident denial than the fact that Thomas Cromwell calls Richard, in his will, alternatively "nephew" and "cousin." By all means let the connection be disproved if false; but here there is nothing to disprove it. "Cousin" was a term that embraced almost every term of relationship (Henry Whyes, for instance, in the above letter, terms Cromwell his "cussen"), and while "cousin" might well be applied to a nephew, the more strictly defined term "nephew" could scarcely be applied, as Mr. Brownbill imagines, to what we now term a cousin. All that bears on the biography of Thomas Cromwell is admittedly of so great importance, that I am sure Mr. Brownbill will forgive me for calling attention to these facts.

On one other matter, as a point of Peerage, I may speak more from my own knowledge. Mr. Brownbill states that "Thomas [Lord Cromwell] was made Earl of Ardglass.... This peerage became extinct in 1709 by the death of Lady Cromwell, the granddaughter of this Thomas" (*ante*, p. 129). Though the writer here appears to refer to the above Earldom of Ardglass, he is, of course, really speaking of the family Barony of Cromwell. Now there had been no less than three Baronies of Cromwell in the family:

(1) Cromwell, of Okeham, 9th July, 1536, extinct by attainder 1540.

(2) Cromwell (writ of summons), 28th April, 1539.

(3) Cromwell (letters patent), 18th December, 1540.

Mr. Brownbill confuses the two latter. The third (which is undoubted) became extinct on the death of the last Earl of Ardglass, in 1687. The second creation is considered to have been only inchoate, as Gregory Cromwell never took his seat under the writ. It was, however, recognised, presumably in error, as vested in the above "Lady Cromwell," but, if so vested, it would have descended to the Southwells as her heirs, and could, in no case, have become "extinct in 1709." Mr. Brownbill, however, has doubtless been misled by the account in Burke's *Extinct Peerage*.

I may add that the upshot, as yet, of the researches into Cromwell's origin, is that its lowness was exaggerated by his jealous contemporaries, as, it may have been observed, is usually the fate of the *parvenu*.

J. H. ROUND.

\*\* Since writing the above, I have noted that Mr. Brownbill conjectures the date of Cromwell's marriage from the fact that "his son Gregory was allowed to take a (six) seat in the House of Lords in 1539 as Lord Cromwell." But this is just what he is believed not to have done, and it is, as I have shown, on the very fact that he did not take his seat under this creation, that the creation itself is held to have been inchoate.

It may also be noted that, since my letter, Mr. Phillips has published a further instalment of his studies on "the Cromwells of Putney."

#### QUEEN ANNE'S PORTRAITS BY "KNELLER."

[*Ante*, p. 191.]

In reply to the enquiries of "H. W. S." I beg to state that I possess a portrait of that Queen by Kneller which exactly corresponds with the description of the engraving, except that my painting is not "a bust portrait," but a three-quarter length life size. In addition to the particulars given by "H. W. S." the Queen is depicted as holding the sceptre in her right hand, and in her left the orb, which rests against the hip. I have also the companion portrait of her husband, Prince George of Denmark. These pictures were seen a few years before his sad death by the late Benjamin Robert Haydon, who greatly admired the Queen's portrait, saying "it was the most graceful royal likeness he had ever seen." They were purchased by me more than forty years ago out of an ancient mansion of the Johnson family, erected in 1636, at one end of the old West-bridge in this town.

Of the engraver we are told in Gould's *Biographical Dictionary of Painters, Sculptors, Engravers, and Architects* (quoting Vertue), that "John Smith [was] an English engraver, who died in 1720. He was the best mezzotint engraver that has appeared in this country; he united softness with strength, and finishing with freedom." A list of his chief works is then given, including portraits of James II., Queen Mary, and Queen Anne. We are further told that "besides portraits Smith performed many historic pieces, as the Lives of the Gods, from Titan, at Blenheim, in ten plates," etc., etc. I possess a fine mezzotint engraving of a youthful female head of "Devotion," engraved by him after Kneller, with the following inscription below it:—

"Devotion, in such looks does graceful shine,  
And forces us to own her pow'r divine."

J. Smith, fecit, 1705. Sold by J. Smith at ye Lyon and Crown, Russell Street, Covent Garden."

I shall be happy to afford "H. W. S." any further information in my power.

WILLIAM KELLY, F.S.A.

#### DRYDEN'S "ESSAY ON TRAGEDY."

Can any reader of THE ANTIQUARY give any information respecting Dryden's *Essay on Tragedy*? I am anxious for answers to the following queries:—1. Has the essay ever been printed, and, if so, when, and in what form? 2. Is the original MS. of the essay in existence? If so, where is it to be seen? 3. Are there any copies of the MS. in existence?

GEORGE CLINCH.

#### ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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J. R. BROWN.—Thanks; with pleasure next month.

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# INDEX.



- Academy, Royal (1884); Notice of, 269-271; First Institution of, 283.  
 Adelphi (The) and its Site, 259-264.  
 Africa (West), Races of, 133.  
 Agricultural Offices, England, 203.  
 "Aizen," Note on, 95, 143.  
 All Hallows, Barking, London, Brasses at, 23-25.  
 —— Exeter, Restoration of, 94.  
 Alne Parish Church, Restoration of, 236.  
 Alone (Roman Station), Identification of, 25.  
 America in 1774, 20-23; Ancient Ruins found in, 41; Explorations in, 88; Discoveries in, 282-283.  
*American Antiquarian*, Review of, 228.  
 American Archaeological Institute Meeting, 43.  
 Andrews (W. F.), on Female Parish Clerks, 190.  
 Angling, The Archaeology of, 264-269.  
 Animals' Bones found at San Briccio, 42; at Wickham, 282.  
 Anne's (Queen), Portraits by Kneller, 191, 230, 287.  
 Anthropological Institute, Meetings of, 37, 85, 133, 180, 220, 276.  
 Antiparos, Island of, Prehistoric Graves in, 284.  
 Antiquaries, Society of, Meetings, 36, 84, 133, 180, 228, 277.  
 —— (Scotland), Meetings, 39, 134, 135, 183, 277.  
 Arab Coinage, Account of, 9-10.  
 Archaeological Association (British) Meetings, 35, 85, 134, 181-182, 228, 276.  
 —— Institute, Meetings, 35, 84, 182.  
 Architecture, Gothic, 86.  
 Art Industry (Ancient) in Florence, 39.  
 Asiatic Society (Royal) Meetings, 36, 86, 133, 182, 229, 277.  
 Assos, Ruins and Discoveries at, 43.  
*Antiquary Society Publications*, XIX. to XXIII., Review of, 83.  
 Australian Totem System, 37; Ceremonies of Initiation, 85.  
  
 Bailey (J. E.), on Richard Parr, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man, 118-121.  
 Ballot, Early Elections by, 89.  
 Bangor Monachorum, Account of, 88-89.  
 Banking in Italy, Antiquity of, 40.  
 Bans (Count of) of Croatia, Note on, 142.  
 Barge (Lord Mayor's), 186.  
 Barrington, Discoveries in River Bed at, 37.  
 Barristers, Origin of, 233.  
 Barrow on Hamstead Heath, 132.  
 —— Gourlay, 135.  
 Bath, Discoveries at, 92.  
 —— Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club Meetings, 135, 183-184, 230.  
 Bears, Drinking Vessels in the Form of, 100-112.  
 Bedfordshire, Church Bells of, 121-124.  
 Bell (A. M.), Palaeolithic Remains in Surrey, by, 157.  
 Bells of St. Moluag, of Lismore, 134; of Bedfordshire, 121-124.  
 Bent (J. T.), on Philip II.'s Correspondence about the Invasion of Ireland, 107-109.  
*Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, Proceedings of*, Review of, 132.  
  
 Biblical Archaeology, Society of, Meetings, 35, 182, 230.  
 Bicester, Roman-British Remains at, 45.  
*Birmingham Free Libraries, Catalogue of*, Review, 33.  
 Black (W. G.), on Miller's Thumb, 47.  
 Blacker-Morgan (G.), on Morgan of Llantamau Abbey, Monmouthshire, 95; on Browne's Family, 143; on Viscount Montague of Cowdry, 191.  
 Blackstone Edge, Roman Road at, 38.  
 Blind (Dr. K.), on Terribus ye Terri Odin, 63-72; Troy found again, by, 145-149, 197-203; on the Hawick Slogan, 237-238.  
 Blunt (Rev. Canon), *A Thousand Years of the Church in Chester-le-Street*, Review of, 83.  
 Books written in Prison, 234.  
 Booksellers of the Seventeenth Century, 73.  
 Boston (America) in 1774, 21-23.  
 Boulder Stones at Clun, 138.  
 Boundaries, Duelling between Tribes to determine, 234.  
 Bradford Historical Society Meetings, 184.  
 Brading (J. W.), Account of, 29-32; Church, Note on, 92.  
 Balsford (W.), on all that is left of Fotheringay Castle, 10-14; In the Country of the Families of Gascoigne and Fairfax, 215-219.  
 Brasses at All Hallows' Church, Barking, 23-25; at Ogleander Chapel, Brading, 30; Monumental, of Cheshire, 173-175; in Otley Church, 217.  
 Bretton Family, query on, 190, 239.  
 Bristol Farthing (17th century), found, 235.— Library, Origin of, 89.  
 Brownbill (Rev. John), The earlier Life of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, by, 75-80, 124-130.  
 Brownie Family, 143.  
 Brownie (Sir Thomas), *Religio Medicinae*, reprint, Review, 32-34.  
 Breakfast Abbey, Excavations at, 236.  
 Bullard (C.), on Queen Anne's Portraits by Kneller, 239.  
 Burghclere, Stone Celts found at, 285.  
 Burial-place of a Chief, found at Charlton (U.S.A.), 92.  
 Bury, Richard de, 259.  
*Bygones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, Review of, 83, 228.  
  
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society Meetings, 37, 88, 136, 182-183.  
 —— Philological Society Meetings, 38, 88, 183, 231.  
*Philological Society, Transactions*, Review of, 275.  
 Cambridgeshire, Monumental Brasses of, 173-175.  
 Camden Society, Meeting of, 277.  
 Canning (Hon. A. S. G.), *Thoughts on Shakespeare's Historical Plays*, Review of, 177.  
 Canterbury, Antiquities discovered at, 36; Cathedral, Antiquities at, 139.  
 Carlisle, Corporation Documents found, 41; Cathedral Library, 234.  
 Carthage, Discoveries during Excavations at, 285.  
 Cartographers, Elizabethan, 45.  
 Carving, Old, Discovered at Shrewsbury, 92; Old Oak, at St. Mary's Chedzoy, Bridgwater, 284; at Shrewsbury School,
- 285; Wood, at Nerquis Church, Mold, 188.  
 Caryostos (Euboëa) coins found at, 140.  
 Casley (H. C.), on St. Stephen's Church, Ipswich, 94.  
 Castellani, Collection Sale at Rome, 284.  
 Cathedral Libraries, Carlisle, 234; Norwich, 234.  
 Cave found at Windle Hall, 42.  
 Cavern (Stalactite) discovered near Cerdon, France, 286.  
 Celt found in N. R. of Yorkshire, 228.  
 Chair, Chippendale, at Brading Church, 31.  
 Chancery Lane, London, Discoveries in, 132.  
 Channell (J.), query on, 95.  
 Charing-cross, Old, 167, 168.  
 Charlestown (U.S.A.), Discovery of Ancient Burial-place near, 92.  
 Charnock Family, 143.  
 Charters, Ancient, of Winchester, discovered, 254-255.  
 Chatfield (Gt.), Manor House at, 5.  
 Cheapside, Old, Account of, 164-168; Pillory in (1762), 40.  
 Chess-game, the Exchequer, 266-272.  
 Chest, Cedar, found in River Joanna, 42.  
 Chester, Excavations in the Deansfield at, 143; Roman Remains found in Whitefriars, 285.  
 Chetham Society, Meetings of, 232.  
 Chinese Antiquities, Exhibition of, 140.  
 Christmas Customs (Cornish), 94.  
 Church "Restoration," 189-190.  
 Church Plate, Exeter, 235; Norwich, 278; discovered at Shorelditch, 239.  
 City Church and Churchyard Protection Society Meetings, 85.  
*Clarendon Historical Society Publications*, Review, 83.  
 Clay (G. H.), on Bishop Rutter's Monument in Peel Cathedral, 191.  
 Clerks, Female Parish, query on, 47.  
 Cliff (D. V.), on "Delighted Spirit," 46.  
 Clifton Shakespeare Society Meetings, 135, 230.  
 Clinch (G.), Palaeolithology near the Source of the River Ravensbourne, by, 212-215; on Dryden's Essay on Tragedy, 287.  
 Clothing in 1750, 233.  
 Clun, Erratic Boulder Stones at, 138.  
 Coaches (Hackney) in 1750, 233.  
 Coffins, Stone, found at Mayence, 140.  
 Coins, discovered, of Edward III., 41; Clippings of, at Frome, 193; Old English at Westbury, 233; at Caryostos, 140; Roman at Mayence, 140; Roman at Manton, Wilts, 141; on the Study of, 7-10; Arab, 9-10; Venice, 192-197, 250-254. See "Numismatic Society".  
 Colchester, Battle of, 286; Castle, Museum at, 187; Keep, Note on, 190, 238; Old Manorial Custom at, 186.  
 Common-riding at Hawick, 70-71.  
 Copper Coinage of Venice, 251, 253.  
 Cornish Folk-lore, 37-38.  
 —— Christmas Customs, 94.  
 —— Churches, Restoration of, 189-190.  
 Correspondence, 44-47, 189-191, 237-239, 266, 287.  
 Correspondents, Answers to, 47, 191, 287.  
 Court, Ancient Borough, of Plymouth, 219, 220.  
 Cowdry, Viscount Montague of, 191.  
 Cox (J.), on the word "Aizen," 95.

## INDEX.

- Craigmellar Castle, 280-281.  
 Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, Life of, 75-80, 124-130, 286-287.  
 Cross, Anglic, discovered at Chester-le-Street Church, 86.  
 Cups, Communion, at Exeter, 235.  
 Cup-marked Stones, 134-135.  
 Cymmodorion Society Meetings, 36, 185.  
 Dais, Place of Honour in Early Houses, 6.  
 Damant (Mrs.), on Brading, Isle of Wight, 20-32.  
 Davies (R.) *Historical Notices of the King's Manor, York*, Review of, 83.  
 Davis (Rev. J. S.) *History of Southampton, Review*, 32-33.  
 Davis (C. E.) *Mineral Baths of Bath, Review*, 34.  
 Davis (L.) on Viking Ship at Christiania, 44.  
 Day (Daniel), Founder of Fairlop Fair, 168-172.  
 Defoe (D.), *Robinson Crusoe*, reprint, Review, 34.  
 "Delighted Spirit," Rendering of, 45-46.  
 De Montfort (Simon). See "Lewes," Battle of.  
 Denton House, Otley, Birthplace of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, 218.  
 Derrick's *Image of Ireland*, see "Small (I.)."  
 Dialect (English), Society Meetings, 231.  
 — of the Pernian People in Durham, 86; Glossary of Fiji Terms, 89-90. See "Philological Society."  
 Dials, Ancient, 136.  
 Documents of Carlisle Corporation, 41.  
 Drake and Sobieski, Resemblance between, 94.  
 Drinking Vessels in the form of a Bear, 100-112.  
 Duelling between "Septs" or Genealogies, 234.  
 Dunfermline, Restoration of Malcolm Canmore's Tower at, 189.  
 Durham, Pernian People of, 86.  
 Durham House, London, 259-264.  
 Dryden's Essay on Tragedy, 287.  
 Dyer (Rev. T. F. T.) *Folk-lore of Shakespeare*, Review of, 274.  
 Easten, near Devizes, Coin of Edward III, found, 41.  
 Edinburgh Architectural Society Meetings, 86, 280.  
 — University, Tercentenary of, 271-273.  
 Edstone Parish Church, Restoration of, 237.  
 Elections, Early, by Ballot, 89, 142.  
 Elephant (Mammoth), Bones of, discovered, 140.  
 Elizabethan Cartographers, 45.  
 Ely Cathedral Library, 187.  
 England, Land Rights in Corporations of, 203-206.  
 Epidaurus, Discoveries during Excavations at, 93.  
 Erith and Belvedere Natural History, Society Meeting, 189, 282.  
 Essex, Thomas Cromwell, Earl of, Life of, 75-80, 124-130, 286-287.  
 Etruscan, Balance and Weights found, 189.  
 Evans (H. A.), on "Delighted Spirit," 45-46.  
 Ewyngar (A.) and Wife, Brass of, 24.  
 Exchange, Antiquary, 48, 96, 144, 192, 240, 288.  
 Exchequer Chess-game, 206-212.  
 Exeter Church Plate, 235-236.  
 Exhibitions, Ancient History of, 90-91.  
 Fairfax Family, In the Country of the, 215-219.  
 Fairfax (Sir T.). See "Tower Guards."  
 Fairlop Fair, 168-172.  
 Fairs, Fairlop, 168-172; St. James, Westminster, 38-62.  
 Farnborough Parish Church, Restoration of, 43.  
 Female Succession, 45.  
 Fields (Common), Allotments in the, 160-162.  
 Field Names at Presteign, 239.  
 Fiji Glossary, 89-90.  
 Fishing, Antiquity of, 264-269.  
 Fishing House of Walton and Cotton, 162-164.  
 Florence, Ancient Art Industry in, 39.  
 Folk-lore, Cornish, 37-38.  
 — Society Meetings, 85.  
 Folk Moots, Village, 52.  
 Folk Tales, Indian, 236.  
 Foster (J. J.) Notes on the Diary of Nathaniel Hone, Portrait Painter, 244-250.  
 Fossils found at Thames Embankment, 42; Serpent found at Llancaich Quarry, 188.  
 Fotheringay Castle, Account of, 10-14.  
 Fowler (Rev. J. T.) on Church Bells of Bedfordshire, 121-124.  
 France, Statalite Cavern discovered at Cerdon, 286.  
 Friend (Rev. H.) *Flowers and Flower Lore*, Review of, 225-226.  
 Friulford, Excavation of Roman Villa at, 42.  
 Frome, Discovery of Coin Clippings near, 93.  
 Fry (D. P.) on the Hawick Slogan, 142; on "Aizen," 143.  
 Furness Abbey Register, 86.  
 Gairdner (J.) The Functions of the House of Lords, by, 149-156, 255-259.  
 Gascoigne, Lord-Chief Justice, in the County of the Families of, 215-219.  
 Gavelkind in Nottinghamshire, 239.  
 Gems, Archaeological, Collection of, 284.  
 German Shakespeare Society, Meeting of, 284.  
 Giants' Graves of Denmark, 39.  
 Gilles (W. C.) on Relics of Oliver Goldsmith, 191.  
 Glass (Stained) found at Buckfast Abbey, 236.  
 Glossaries, Medieval, 182.  
*Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, Review of, 63.  
 Godstone Church (Surrey), Memorial Chapel in, 47.  
 Goldsmith (Oliver), Relics of, 191.  
 Gomme (G. L.) on Succession through Females, 45; on the Origin of the House of Lords, 49-57; on the Old Landgrants of Municipal Corporations, by, 157-162.  
 Gothic Architecture, Rise of, 86.  
 Greece, Iron Age in, 96-101.  
 Greek Antiquities at Edinburgh, 187; Chariots (Early), 229; Burial Customs, 229; Coinage, Account of, 7-9.  
 Green (J. R.) *The Conquest of England*, Review of, 82.  
 Green Family Pedigrees, 44.  
 Grey (Lady Jane), at Durham House, 261.  
 Grossi, Venetian Coin, 251.  
 Guildford, Bones of Elephant found at, 140.  
 Hainault Forest, Essex, Fair held in, 168.  
 Hales (Professor J. W.), Illustrations of Shakespeare's Language by, 63.  
 Hall (H.), The Exchequer Chess-game by, 206-212.  
 Halls of Early Houses, 3-7.  
 Hamilton (W.), *Parodies of the Works of English and American Authors*, Review of, 83.  
 Hampstead Heath, Barrow on, 132.  
 Hardy (F. J.) on Thomas Channell, 95.  
 Harewood Castle, Account of, 215.  
 Hartley Institute, Southampton, Meetings of, 231-232.  
 Hatfield (Bishop), 259, 260.  
 Hawick War-cry, 63-72, 141-142, 190-191, 237-238.  
 Hawkshaw, Lancashire, Discoveries in a Cairn at, 189.  
 Hazlitt (W. Carew), The Prisons of Venice, by, 112-118; Note on Piccadilly, by, 175-176; The Coins of Venice, by, 192-197, 250-254.  
 Hellenic Society Meetings, 229.  
 Hipwell (D.) on Parish Registers, 142.  
*Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London*, Review of, 273-274.  
 Historical Society Meetings, 36, 85, 133, 182, 230.  
 Hisarlik, Hill of, Discoveries at, 107.  
 Hookin (F.), on "Delighted Spirit," 46.  
 Hodgetts (L. F.), *Older England, Illustrated by Saxon Antiquities in the British Museum*, Review of, 227.  
 Holland, Megalithic Monuments of, 39.  
 Hone (Nathaniel), A Few Notes on the Diary of [1752-1753], 244-250.  
 Hope (R. C.) on Ludlow Corporation Insignia, 57-59.  
 House, History and Development of, 1-7, 95, 101-106.  
 Houses (Old) in Portsmouth Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 93.  
 Human Remains found at Templeton Manor, 187.  
 Hungarian Noble, Remains of, discovered at Wiener Neustadt, 93.  
 Implements, Stone and Bronze, discovered at Wetherby, Lancashire, 139-140; Flint found in the Ravensbourne, 212, 215.  
 Inscriptions found at Rome, 42; on Roman Altars found at Lincoln, 237; from Abco Hubba, 283-284; from Palmyra, 285.  
 Ireland, temp., 1579-80. Correspondence of Philip II., about the Invasion of, 107-109.  
 Ireland, Flints discovered at Larne, 229.  
 Iron Age in Greece, 96-101.  
 Italy, Antiquity of Banking in, 40.  
 Jacob (W. H.) on Discovery of Ancient Charters of Winchester, 254-255.  
 Jewitt (Llewellyn), Drinking Vessels in the form of a Bear, by, 109-112.  
 Kanawha, America, Discoveries of Old Town at, 282-283.  
 Kelly (W.) on Queen Anne's Portraits by Kneller, 287.  
 Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, Fall of Church Spire, 187.  
 Kilmainch-Glassary Bell Shrine, 134.  
 Kneller (Sir Godfrey), Anecdote of, 245; Portraits of Queen Anne, 191, 239, 287.  
 Knife (Roman) found at Silurium, 87.  
 Knightlow Hill Tumulus, Local Custom at, 41.  
 Knights Hospitallers, Remains of, discovered, 187.  
 Lach-Szirma (Rev. W. S.) on Cornish Christmas Customs, 94.  
 Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Meetings, 38.  
*Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes*, Review of, 228.  
 Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society Meetings, 86.  
 Lancashire Wills, 232.  
 Land-Rights (Old) of Municipal Corporations, 157-162, 203-206.  
 Land Tenure, 50.  
 Land Valuation in Orkney and Shetland, 277.  
 Lang (A.) on the Iron Age in Greece, 96-101.  
 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Meetings, 282.  
 Legends of Boulder Stones, 138.  
 — and Traditions (Mecklenburg), 220-225.  
 Lewes, Account of Battle of, 14-19.  
 Libraries (Cathedral), 187, 234.  
 Lincoln, Roman Altar discovered at St. Swithin's Church, 237.

- Lincolnshire, Prehistoric Remains found in, 286.  
 Litchfield (Hants), Opening of Barrows at, 84.  
 Literature, Royal Society of, Meetings, 37, 86, 133, 182, 230.  
 Llancaiachi Quarry, Fossil Serpent found at, 188.  
 London, Adelphi and its Site, 259-264; Archaeological Researches in, 170-180; Brasses of All-Hallows Barking Church, 23-25; Houses of, 15th century, 2-3; Lord Mayor's Barge, 186; Macclesfield House, Soho, 236; Piccadilly, 175; Roman Remains at Walbrook, 237. See "Cheapside," "Tower Guards," "Westminster Fair."  
 London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Meetings, 170, 132-133.  
 Lords, House of, Origin of, 49-57, 149-156, 255-259.  
 Ludlow Borough Seals, discovered, 188.  
 — Corporation Insignia, 57-59.  
 Luxor, Discoveries at, 283.  
 Macclesfield House, Soho, 236.  
 Mace (Old) Silver at Norwich, 279; of Ludlow Corporation, 57.  
 Maidenhead, Tumulus opened near, 91.  
 Malcolm Canmore's Tower, Excavations at, 189.  
 Man (Isle of), Richard Parr, Bishop of, 118-121.  
 Mannheim, Roman Milestones found near, 94.  
 Manorial Custom (Old), 186.  
 Manton (Wiltshire), discovery of Romano-British Interments, 140-141.  
 Marriage, Early Action for Breach of Promise of, 210.  
 Martigny, Discoveries during Excavations at, 92-93.  
 Masonry discovered at Roche Abbey, 235.  
 Mason's Marks at Newcastle, 185.  
 Maughan (V. W.) on Church Plate found at Shoreditch, 239.  
 Maryland Historical Society Meeting, 43.  
 Mary Stuart (Queen of Scots), Funeral of, 13. See "Fotheringay Castle."  
 Maxwell (Alex.), *History of Old Dunder*, Review of, 226.  
 Mayence, Roman Sepulchral discoveries at, 140.  
 Mayor's Barge (London), 186.  
 Mazarin Bible, Sale of, 284.  
 Mecklenburg, Legends and Traditions of, 220-225.  
 Megaliths found near Leeds, 282.  
 Megalithic Monuments of Holland, 39.  
 Military Brasses in Cambridgeshire, 173.  
 Miller's Thumb, Note on, 47.  
 Montcornet, France, Silver Vessels found at, 187.  
 Mosaic, Roman, found in Drôme, France, 285.  
 Municipal Archaeology (Winchester), 91.  
 — Corporations, The Old Land-rights of, 157-162, 202-206.  
 — Custom at Knighton Hill, 41.  
 — Rights (Ancient) of Brading (I. W.), 29.  
 Mural Paintings, Museum at Rome for, 188.  
 Murray (J.A.H.), *New English Dictionary*, Part I., Review of, 178-179.  
 Nebuchadnezzar, Cuneiform Inscriptions of, discovered, 93.  
 Nerquis, Mold, Restoration of Parish Church at, 188.  
 Nesbitt (A.), on History of the House, 95.  
 Newcastle Society of Antiquaries Meetings, 86, 136-7, 185, 230, 281.  
 Newmarket Heath, discoveries at, 136.  
 Nîmes, France, Mosaic Masonry discovered at, 140.  
*Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, Vol. II., Part II., Review of, 227.  
 Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Meetings, 278-280.
- Norman Arcade at Sherbourne Abbey, 188; Chapel at Brading, I. W., 32.  
 North (Thomas), Obituary Notice of, 186.  
 Norwich Cathedral Library, 234.  
 Norwich Church Plate, 278.  
 Note Book, 39-41, 89-91, 138-139, 186-187, 233-234, 282-283.  
 Nottingham, Land Rights in, 161.  
 Nottinghamshire, Gavelkind in, 239.  
 Numismatic Society Meetings, 36, 85, 134, 182, 220, 276.  
 Oak Chest in Brading Church, 31; Pulpit (Black), at Alne Church, 256.  
 Oaken Beams, Roadway of, found in Lincolnshire, 286.  
 Obituary, 137-138, 186.  
 Oglander (Sir J.), Account of, 29-30.  
 Orkney Islands, Iron Lamps from, 37; Land Valuation in, 277.  
 Ossemund, Note on, 46-47.  
 Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club Meetings, 88-89.  
 Otley Church, Account of, 217.
- Paleolithic Implements found at Clerkenwell, 36; Remains in Surrey, 157; Near the Source of the River Ravensbourne, 212-215.  
 Palmer (A. N.), *The Towns, Fields, and Folk of Wrexham in the time of James I.*, Review of, 83.  
 Palmyra, Inscriptions from, 285.  
*Panjab, Notes and Queries*, Review of, 83.  
 Papal Medals, 36.  
 Paris, Roman Amphitheatre discovered in, 276.  
 Parish (Female) Clerks, 47, 190.  
 Park of that Ilk, Query on, 44.  
 Parker (J. H.), Obituary Notice of, 137-138.  
 Parlour, Introduction of into Early Houses, 107.  
 Parr (Richard, D.D.), Bishop of Sodor and Man, 118-121.  
 Pavement, Roman, found in London, 237.  
 Pavement, Roman, found at Nîmes, 140.  
 Paymaster, a Mediæval, 186.  
 Peacock (E.), on Election by Ballot, 142.  
 Peel Cathedral (I. of Man), Bishop Rutter's Epitaph in, 101.  
 Peffernell House, 280.  
 Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society Meetings, 37.  
 Pepys (S.), Memorial Window to, 188.  
 Peru, Objects discovered at, 37.  
 Peterborough, Discoveries at, 35.  
 Philip II., Correspondence of, about the Invasion of Ireland, *temp.* 1579-80, 107-109.  
 Philological Society, Meetings of, 36, 85, 133, 181, 230, 276.  
 Phipson (Emma), *Animal Lore of Shakespeare's Time*, Review of, 34.  
 Piano, Antique, discovered, 180.  
 Piccadilly, Note on, 175-176; House in the Seventeenth Century, 74.  
 Piles, Villages built on, among Ancient Britons, 1.  
 Pillory in Cheapside (1762), 40; Westminster (1763), 41.  
 Piscina, Early, found in Farnborough Church, 43.  
 Plymouth, Ancient Borough Court of, 210-220.  
 Poole (R. S.), on the Study of Coins, 7-10.  
 Porter (Major-Gen.), *History of the Knights of Malta*, Review of, 35.  
 Portraits, List of, painted by N. Hone, R.A., 247.  
 Portree (Isle of Skye), Coins found in, 187.  
 Pottery discovered at Bath, 92; Roman, found, 37; Museum at Rouen, 189.  
 Powell (Thos.) on Field Names, 239.  
 Pre-emption in Land, Right of, 160.  
 Prefaces, Ancient, Note on, 234.  
 Presteign Field Names at, 239.  
 — Shropshire Custom at, 187.  
 Preston, Old Custom in, 160.  
 Preston House, 280.
- Printers of Cambridge, 136.  
 Prison, Books written in, 234.  
 Prisons of Venice, 112-118.  
 Provisions, Prices of (1750), 233.  
 Proxy, Right of Peers to Vote by, 51.  
 Psalter-book, *temp.* Henry VII., 88.
- Quakers in America (1774), 20.  
 Quaritch (Bernard), *Catalogues*. Review of, 33.
- Raleigh (Sir W.) at Durham House, 262.  
 Ravensbourne River, Discovery of Palaeolithic Remains near, 212-215.  
 Registers (Parish), 142.  
 Reviews, 32-35, 82-84, 130-132, 176-179, 225-226, 273-276.  
 Reynell Family Portraits, 176.  
 Reynolds (Sir J.), 245.  
 Ring-dials, Ancient, 136.  
 Rivers, Early Conservancy of, 47.  
 Roby (John), *Traditions of Lancashire*, Review of, 179.  
 Roche Abbey, Excavations at, 235, 286.  
 Roman Remains discovered at Barrington, 37; Blackstone Edge, 38; Brading, 32; Canterbury, 36; Chester, 285; Drôme (France), 285; Frilford, 42; Laon (France), 187; Lincoln, 237; London, 228, 237, 284; Maidenhead, 91; Mainz, 94; Manton, 140-141; Martini, 92-93; Mayence, 140; Nîmes, 140; Paris, 276; St. Albans, 88; Sassano, 185; Vienna, 284; Westmoreland, 25-26; Altars, Inscriptions on, 137; Coinage of, 9; Method for Extinguishing Fires, 84.  
 Rome, Castellan Collection Sale at, 284; Discoveries in the Forum, 42; Discoveries during Excavations at, 94; Museum for Mural Paintings at, 188; Discovery of Sculpture at Il Sassano, 188.  
 Römer (Dr. F.), *Bone Caves of Ojcow in Poland*, translated by J. E. Lee, Review of, 226-227.  
 Ross (D. W.), *Early History of Land-holding among the Germans*, Review of, 131-132.  
 Rouen, Pottery Museum at, 189.  
 Round (J. H.), on "That Detestable Battle of Lewes," 14-19; on British or Roman-British remains near Bicester, 45; on the Hawick Slogan, 141-142; The Tower Guards, 241-244; on The Earlier Life of Thomas Cromwell, 286-287.  
 Royalist Compounders of Bradford, 184.  
 Russian Archaeological Society, Meeting of, 282.  
 Rutter's (Bishop), Monument in Peel Cathedral, Epitaph on, 191.  
 Rye (Walter) on Colchester Keep, 190; *Materials for a History of North Evingham*, Review of, 82-83.  
 St. Albans, Restoration of Altar Screen at, 141.  
 St. Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society Meetings, 87.  
 St. Bridget's Church, Breane, Restoration of, 94.  
 St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, Shakespeare Memorial Window at, 188.  
 St. James' Fair, Note on, 233.  
 St. John's Bothe, Fraternity of, 45.  
 St. Kew Church, Cornwall, Restoration of, 44.  
 St. Loo Parish Church, Cornwall, Restoration of, 237.  
 St. Mary's Church, Chedzoy, Bridgwater, Restoration of, 284.  
 St. Olave's, Hart-street, London, Pepy's Memorial Window at, 188.  
 St. Paul's Ecclesiastical Society Meetings, 133.  
 St. Stephen's Church, Ipswich, discovery at, 94.  
 Samara, Excavations at, 282.  
 San Bricio, Skeletons found at, 42.  
 Savoy, The, London, 260.

## INDEX.

- Saxon Cemetery discovered at Winchester, 141.  
 Saxon Houses in Britain, 1-2.  
 Scandinavian Thing in Yorkshire, survival of, 283.  
 Scotland, Land-rights in Corporations of, 203-205.  
 Sculpture discovered at Il Sassano, Rome, 188.  
 Seals, used by Hen. VI, as King of France, 181; Ancient, of Ludlow discovered, 188; Collection of, 284; Of Pope John XXI., found, 236.  
 Selborne Church, Restoration of, 43.  
 Sepulchral Discoveries at Mayence, 140.  
 Sermon of St. Aldred of Rivaulx, 139.  
 Seventeenth Century, Glimpses of, 72.  
 Shakespeare's "Delighted Spirit," 45-46; Language, Illustrations of, 63; Memorial Window to, 188; Documents at Stratford-on-Avon, 43.  
 Shakspear (New) Society Meetings, 35, 85, 133, 181, 229.  
 Shandy Hall, Inscription to Sterne at, 235.  
 Sharman (Julian), *A Curious History of Swearing*, Review of, 275.  
 Sherbourne Abbey, Restoration of, 188.  
 Shorelditch Church Plate found at, 239.  
 Shrewsbury, Old Carving discovered at; School, Note on, 139; Inscription deciphered at, 285.  
 Shrovetide Custom at Presteign, 187.  
 Signs (Tradesmen's) in Cheapside, 165.  
 Sittingbourne, Collection of Antiquities of, 13.  
 "Sixes and Sevens," Origin of Phrase, 239.  
 "Slocking," Word used in Devon and Cornwall, 220.  
 Skeletons discovered at Winchester, 141.  
 Slogan, Hawick, 141-142, 190-191.  
 Small (J.), *Derrick's Image of Ireland, with Discoveries of Woodkerne*, 1581, Review of, 131.  
 Smith (Lucy Toulmin) on a Visit to America in 1774, 20-23.  
 Smith (Rev. H. P.), *Glossary of Terms and Phrases*, Review of, 177.  
 Sonora (South America), Ancient Ruins found at, 41.  
 Southampton, Antiquities found near, 231.  
 Southwark, Ancient Relics of, 85.  
*Spelling Experimenter and Phonetic Investigator*, Review of, 228.  
 Spelling Reform (Early), 41.  
 Spoons (Medieval) found at Buckfast Abbey, 236.  
 Stacy (J.) on Elizabethan Cartographers, 45.  
 Stallybrass (J. S.), *Tewtonic Mythology by Jacob Grimm*, Translated by, Review of, 83.  
 Stanton Drew, 230.  
 Sterne (Laurence), Inscription to, 235.  
 Stone Age Burials of Sweden, 39.  
 Stone Celt found at Burghclere, 285.  
 Stones, Sculptured, 135.  
 Streetfield (Rev. G. S.), *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, Review of, 177.  
 Suffolk Archaeological Society Meetings, 184.  
 Succession through Females, 45.  
 Superstition in Lancashire, 42.  
 Swastika Symbols found in Troy, 109.  
 Swillington, St. Mary's Church Restoration at, 42.  
 Symbols, Swastika, 199.  
 Talbot of Malahide, Query on, 46.  
 Tankards, Silver, Ludlow Corporation, 58.  
 Tapestry, Ancient, 91.  
 Tempany (F. W.) on Brasses at a City Church, 23-25.  
 Temple (Capt. R. C.), *Dissertation on the Proper Names of Panjabis*, Review of, 131.  
 Temple Bar, 259-260.  
 Templeton Manor, Kintbury, Discoveries during Excavations, 187.  
 Terra-cotta Figures found in Tanagra, 39.  
 Terribus ye Teri Odin, see "Hawick."  
 Thames Embankment, Remains found at, 42.  
 Thorneley (J. T.), Walton and Cotton's Fishing-house, by, 162-164.  
 Tilbury, Interment of Pre-historic Man found at, 228.  
 Tolhouse (Yarmouth), Account of, 26-28.  
 Tournament in St. James's Park (1540), 261.  
 Tower Guards (1648), 241-244.  
 Train-Bands of London (1648), 241.  
 Travelling Expenses in 1752, 249.  
 Troy Found Again, 145-149; 197-203.  
 Turf used in Disputes concerning Boundaries, 234.  
 Turner (George), *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, Review of, 275-276.  
 Tyndale (W.), Statute to, 139.  
 Vases found in Hyde Close, Winchester, 286.  
 Vauxhall in 1752, 247-248.  
 Venice, Early Industrial Exhibition at, 90-91; The Coins of, 192-197, 250-257; Prisons of, 112-118.  
 Vernon (J. J.) on the Hawick Slogan, 190-191.  
 Vicars (A.), on the Charnock Family, 143.  
 Vienna, Roman Grave found in, 284.  
 Viking Ship at Christiania, 44.  
 Village Community in England, 159-162.  
 Wages in 1750, 233.  
 Wake (E. S.), on Osemund, 46-47.  
 Walford (C.), on Early Conservancy of Rivers, 47; Fairlop Fair, by, 168-172; Westminster Fair, by, 58-62.  
 Walton and Cotton's Fishing-house, 162-164.  
 Warwickshire Dialect, 63.  
 Watkins (Rev. M. G.), The Archaeology of Angling, by, 264-269.  
 Weapon (Iron) found in Erith, 282.  
 Wegbur, Lancashire, Antiquities discovered at, 139-140.  
 Weights, Old Etruscan, found, 189.  
 Welsh Newspapers, Early, 185.  
 Westbury, Roman Ornaments and Coins found at, 235.  
*Western Antiquary*, Review of, 228.  
 Westminster, Pillory in (1763), 41.  
 —— Fair, 58-62.  
 —— Hall, Mason's Marks on the Walls, at, 84.  
 Westmoreland, Roman Remains in, 25-26, 81.  
 Westropp (H. M.), *Early and Imperial Rome*, Review of, 130.  
 Wheatley (B. R.), Obituary Notice of, 138.  
 Wheately (H. B.), History and Development of the House, by, 1-7, 101-105; on Old Cheapside, 164-168; on Sixes and Sevens, 239; The Adelphi and its Site, by, 250-264.  
 Wheately (L. A.) on the Centenary of Edinburgh University, 271-272.  
 Wheel, Old Wooden, found at Sienna, 87.  
 Wright (Isle of), Iron Bill found at, 36. See "Brading."  
 Wilkinson (J.), *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley*, Review of, 34.  
 Winchester, Municipal History of, 91; Register of, 139; Excavations at, 141; Discovery of Ancient Charters of, 254-255; Vases found in, 286.  
 Windle Hall (Weston), Ancient Cave found at, 42.  
 Witchcraft in Lancashire, 42.  
 Wolsey (Cardinal). See "Cromwell, Thomas."  
 Wood Carving, Ancient, 39, 92.  
 Woodcote Parish Church, Restoration of, 44.  
 Worth (R. N.), The Ancient Borough Court of Plymouth, by, 219-220.  
 Wortham (Rev. B. H.), Monumental Brasses of Cambridgeshire, by, 173-175.  
 Wright (Thomas), *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, edited by R. P. Wulcker, Review of, 274.  
 Yarmouth, Account of the Tolhouse at, 56-58, 270.  
 Yaverland (I. W.), Old Manor House at, 32.  
 Yorkshire Archaeological Association Meetings, 137.  
 Yorkshire Architectural Society Meetings, 278.  
*Yorkshire (North Riding) Record Society Publications*, Review of, 226.  
 Yorkshire Philosophical Society Meetings, 184-185.  
 —— Parish Records, 41.  
 —— Survival of Scandinavian Thing in, 283.  
 Young (J.) on Legends and Traditions of Mecklenburg, 220-225.  
 Youngman (J. M.), *Thirteen Etchings from Original Sketches made in Rome*, Review of, 176-177.  
 Zeus, Discovery of Foundations of Ancient Temple of (Carapano), 93.

